SCHINNERER

Karl Heinzen as Literary Critic

German

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KARL HEINZEN AS LITERARY CRITIC

BY

OTTO PAUL SCHINNERER

A. B. University of Illinois, 1913

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Otto Paul Schimerer

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CHAPTER I.

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN GERMAN LITERATURE UP TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

The political movement of 1848, the various phases of the agitation preceding it, and the activity of the men who, as Karl Heinzen, advocated it with all the eloquence at their disposal, fought for it with all available means, and finally suffered life-long exile for their endeavor, can only be properly understood and appreciated from an historical standpoint. We, who have profited from the political experience of the last half century, and can look back upon the unification of Germany in 1870, are likely to consider the whole movement the work of impractical idealists and of fanatics. But even if this unification has been achieved by a despotic statesman on a monarchical basis instead of the ardently desired and fought for democratic basis, it would have been impossible, had not the path been smoothed by the agitations for liberal reforms. The final achievement is due not only to Bismarck, the statesman, but in a very great measure to the campaign for unification, for liberty and freedom, which the German thinkers and poets had carried on for a century.

For a proper conception of the enormous task which the German poets set themselves to accomplish, it is only necessary to recall the utter desolation which was caused in Germany by the Thir-

ty Years' War. "When the Thirty Years' War had ended by reducing the German Empire to its atoms, no hope of religious or political liberty seemed to be left. Nowhere and at no period in modern history has despotism assumed such an absurd and hideous form as in the numberless petty principalities which at the time of the Peace of Westphalia were the last remnants of what had been the dominant power of Europe. Municipal privileges had been trampled down: not a trace of rural autonomy remained; Luther's principle of religious self-determination had been converted into an absolute power of the princes to determine the religious belief of their subjects. As an embodiment of national traditions and national ideals, Germany was dead."

For a century Germany struggled on to recover from these disasters. Then Frederick the Great appeared on the scene, an autocrat and a despot, one who acknowledged himself a servant of the people, establishing, in principle at least, the equality of all subjects before the law, and giving Germany unrestricted freedom of religious belief and philosophical thought. It would be interesting to speculate upon what the results would have been, had Frederick placed himself at the head of a movement for popular emancipation, and granted his subjects a share in the management of public affairs, but at present it is sufficient to state that his convictions were in the opposite direction. Popular emancipation existed only in the realm of ideas.

It now remained for the thinkers and poets to accomplish what the rulers had not, and probably could not, accomplish. They began to regenerate the national body by imparting a new life to the

national mind. "Debarred, on the one hand, from practical participation in public life: favoured, on the other, with a large degree of freedom in theoretical belief and speculation, the German men of thought and culture now more fervently than ever turned to the cultivation of the ideal, and by holding up to their countrymen the image of a world of beauty, truth, and perfection, helped to engender that craving for the realization of ideal demands in the national institutions, which, in the nineteenth century, has created the German state." *

The pioneer in the construction of an ideal world was Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. He does not limit himself to the narrow confines of every-day life, but takes refuge to a spiritual world where he can roam at will and enjoy the greatest freedom. He makes his appeal to the whole nation, awakens the moral consciousness in his people, and makes them co-citizens with him. Never was a poetic production received with greater applause than the first cantos of his Messiah, for his extreme spirituality enkindled the flames which were silently burning in the hearts of men. And here already we find the cosmopolitan spirit hand in hand with the genuine national feeling, which is so remarkable at the end of the eighteenth century. As a true cosmopolitan he hails the French Revolution, and at the same time expresses very optimistic views regard-

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*For a more detailed account of this literary movement, see Kuno Francke's History of German Literature, whom the author is following.

ing the future of Germany. With a remarkable prophecy he addresses Germany:

"Nicht auf immer lastet es, (das Joch):
Frei, O Deutschland, wirst Du dereinst, ein Jahrhundert nur noch:
So ist es geschehen, so herrscht der Vernunft-recht vor dem Schwertrecht."

The same lofty idealism we find in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, whom Kuno Francke calls the champion destroyer of despotism, and the master builder of lawful freedom. His literary efforts are to free the Germans intellectually, to make them independent of foreign influence. He protests against artificiality and convention, and also strives to put an end to religious tyranny. The corruption of the princes, and their arbitrary and despotic rule is severely criticized in Emilia Galotti.

Klopstock and Lessing thus ushered in the great movement of intellectual and spiritual freedom, which was to take on such immense proportions towards the end of the century, and finally in the nineteenth to bring about the social evolution and national consolidation. They form the cornerstones on which the future master builders based their work of building up a free nation with free human individuals.

It is impossible here even to sketch this development in the Storm and Stress period, or to give an adequate conception of the heights to which it rose in the work of Herder, Kant, Schiller, and Goethe. "Never has individualism been preached with greater

vehemence and aggressiveness than it was preached by the leaders of the Storm and Stress agitation. Destruction of every barrier of individual growth: war against authority of whatever kind: the glorification of primitive, uncorrupted nature, of instinct, of passion, of genius: the vilification of the existing social order, of regularity, of learning, of conscious effort,-- these were the watchwords which inspired the generation succeeding that of Klopstock and Lessing." It was really the ideal counterpart to the French Revolution.

But while these men were the representatives of the strongest individualism, they were at the same time forerunners of the collectivistic movement in the nineteenth century. It would be unjust to accuse Schiller and Goethe of a lack of true patriotism, because of their cosmopolitanism and individualism, of their ideal of an universal free humanity. They were at heart truly patriotic and prophets of a coming republic. What could have been more inspiring to his fellowmen than the protest against tyranny and the demand for popular freedom which Schiller issued in his Wilhelm Tell? Only one quotation out of many will suffice to indicate Schiller's patriotism:

"Nein, eine Grenze hat Tyrannenmacht:
Wenn der Gedrückte nirgends recht kann finden,
Wenn unerträglich wird die Last,- greift er
Hinauf getrosten Mutes in den Himmel,
Und holt herunter seine ew'gen Rechte,
Die droben hangen unveräuszerlich

Und unzerbrechlich, wie die Sterne selbst,-
Der alte Urstand der Natur kehrt wieder,
Wo Mensch dem Menschen gegenüber steht,--
Zum letzten Mittel, wenn kein andres mehr
Verfangen will, ist ihm das Schwert gegeben,
Der Güter höchstes dürfen wir verteid'gen,
Gegen Gewalt--Wir stehn vor unser Land,
Wir stehn vor unsre Weiber, unsre Kinder!" *

But in spite of some glowing expressions of nationality and enthusiasm for political unity, the present ideal of almost all the German poets and thinkers was a spiritually free nation. When W. von Humboldt asserts that the highest ideal is that of free and voluntary action, and not that of governing or obeying, he, as Kant, is primarily concerned with the moral rather than the political aspect of the individual. The political state and the cultural state are not considered to be a unity, but wholly independent of each other, and the leaders in thought direct their attention almost exclusively to the "Kulturnation". And even if Fr. Schlegel, the Romanticist, manifests a certain amount of political interest, his speculations do not concern themselves with the state as it is, but as it should be; they are theoretical and far removed from any political considerations.

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* Wilhelm Tell, Act II, Scene 2, 1275-1288.

Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century we find Germany at the head of the intellectual renaissance, we find the leading men of culture absorbed in solving the deepest problems of human existence, we find an extreme cult of individualistic culture, while politically Germany can hardly be said to have existed. And therefore it is not surprising that the battle of Jena in 1806 should have resulted in a victory for Napoleon, and that Germany had to suffer the greatest humiliation and degradation in its history.

"But never perhaps has distress, the great teacher of mankind, taught a more impressive or wholesome lesson than in the German disaster of 1806. Never has a people undergone a more wonderful rejuvenation than the German people underwent in the very years following the downfall of Prussia. Never has there been a more striking illustration of the indestructibility of spiritual forces. For who can doubt that it was Germany's spiritual past which saved her in this political cataclysm? Who does not see that it was the survival of the best of eighteenth century individualism which led to the national uprising against Napoleon, and this to the first manifestation of nineteenth century collectivism? In other words, who would deny that what brought about the reorganization of the Prussian state and the delivery from foreign oppression was in the last analysis Kant's moral law, Herder's conception of national individuality, the ideal of complete manhood embodied in the work of Klopstock, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller?"

The work of rebuilding the German nation from out of its ruins was begun at once by the patriotic historian Ernst Moritz

Arndt, and the philosopher Fichte. As early as 1809 Arndt had already proposed against the tendency to separate the individualistic ideal of a free humanity, whose influence, however, he could no more escape than the others, from the concrete problems of ordinary life, and had demanded unity of state and of the people, "Einheit des Staates und des Volkes."* Now in 1806 his "Geist der Zeit" appears, in which he condemns the existing state of culture as being too unworldly. He recalls the glorious past of Germany, and seeks to awaken a sense of shame at the present humiliation and degradation. The poets are not in touch with the needs and aspirations of the people, but are engaged in the narrow pursuit of self-culture. All this must be swept away, and a new spirit, a consciousness of the needs of the nation, must take its place.

A little later Fichte delivered his memorable "Reden an die deutsche Nation" at a great personal risk, for the troops of Napoleon were occupying the country and spies were placed everywhere. While Arndt had attempted by historical criticism the regeneration of the German people, Fichte made his appeal primarily to the moral consciousness and to the will. His remedy for the political unity and restoration of Germany lay in public education, which was to inculcate a spirit of patriotism and an ardent desire for liberty. Largely to his endeavors must be ascribed the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810 as an outspoken means of making it the centre of a

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* Meinicke, Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, p.89 ff.

new patriotic spirit.

Nor must we overlook the contributions of the Romantic movement to the uprising of 1813. It is true that its tendency in the main was a turning away from the problems of the world, at least in the beginning, and that these poets sought their ideal in a spiritual, ultra-mundane sphere, or that they sought consolation for the disrupted state of present affairs in the greatly idealized age of the German past, and in the unity of the Catholic Church. But at the same time they fostered the spirit of nationality by rediscovering the lost treasures of the German nation. The revival of the folk-songs in "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano, of the popular tales and legends in the "Völkerbücher", by Joseph Görres, and of the fairytales in the "Kinder- und Hausmärchen", by the brothers Grimm, was not the least factor in awakening reminiscences of a past when there still existed a German nation, and hopes of a future when this nation was to rise again in ancient splendour.

The results of this agitation were soon to be apparent. Everywhere the national spirit was awakened, and responded to the solemn call of duty. Under the leadership of Stein and Hardenberg the Prussian army was reorganized, recruits were not wanting to take up arms for the holy cause of the Fatherland. Even the professors at the universities dismissed their classes in order to participate in the drills. The whole nation was aglow with enthusiasm, all the petty strifes and dissensions were forgotten in the great cause, and finally the King of Prussia, seized with the spirit of his peo-

ple, issued his call to arms. In the poems of Arndt, Eichendorf, and Körner, this craving for the political freedom and unity has been immortalized. With their fiery battle songs they stirred not only the soldiers, but everywhere the people could be heard singing them with joyous and youthful delight. It was like pouring oil on the fire when Theodor Körner, following the summons to arms, addressed the people:

"Frisch auf, mein Volk! Die Flammenzeichen rauchen,
Hell aus dem Norden bricht der Freiheit Licht!
Frisch auf, mein Volk! Die Flammenzeichen rauchen,
Die Saat ist reif; ihr Schnitter zögert nicht!
Das höchste Heil, das letzte, liegt im Schwerte!
Drück dir den Speer ins treue Herz hinein:
Der Freiheit eine Gasse! Wasch die Erde,
Dein deutsches Land, mit deinem Blute rein!"

But these patriots were to be sorely disappointed. Hardly had they succeeded in driving Napoleon from the country, when a fierce reaction toward all liberal movements set in. The promises of the King of Prussia to give his people a constitution were shamefully broken, and the very leaders of the patriotic movement who had freed Germany from its oppressers and reorganized Prussia were accused of treason and locked up. There is hardly such a disgraceful period in German history as that of the Regime Metternich.

But although the "Demagogenhetze" was carried on relentlessly and mercilessly, the spirit of freedom could not be suppressed and the ideal lived on in men's minds. It now devolved upon the

students of the Universities to perpetuate the ideals which the poets had inculcated and fostered, and which had brought about the enthusiastic uprising of 1813. Imbued with the noble and manful ideas of Fichte, the student organizations now began a process of inner reformation. Greatly stirred by the uplifting events of 1813, and moved by the greatness of the German nation in the past, with which they became acquainted in the classrooms, a deep devotion to the Fatherland gradually filled their hearts. The degenerating drinking bouts gave way to moderacy and the "mens sana in corpore sano" once more became the ideal. Instead of the drinking songs, the patriotic and serious hymns of Arndt and others became the favorites. Moreover, the students themselves began military drill, and still better, an attempt was made to break up the petty distinctions between the students of the different German States. The societies dominant so far were the so-called "landsmannschaften", organizations of students from one and the same state, and the rivalry and hostility between them was very great. A new organization consisting of students from the different states was to be formed, and in June, 1815, the members of two Landsmannschaften in Jena together with a number of "barbarians" actually organized a new association, the "Burschenschaft." Only a year later all other organizations had dissolved, and the Burschenschaft seemed to have achieved its object, namely, a confederation of the whole Christian-germanic student body. At the suggestion of Turnvater Jahn, the black-red-gold banner of the volunteers of Lützow, which was to be the emblem of freedom for fifty years, was adopted as the ensign of the organization. Soon

other universities followed the example of Jena and organized similar associations. In October, 1818, the representatives of fourteen Universities met in Jena, and there made it a national organization, under the name of "Die Allgemeine Deutsche Burschenschaft", which was "organized on the relation of the German Youth to the future unity of the German fatherland." The constitution stated as object of the Burschenschaft: "Unity, freedom, equality between its members, and a development in a christian-germanic spirit of all faculties for the service of the fatherland." One despotic clause, however, called for the dissolution of all other societies, and every student was to be obliged to join.

Needless to state, the authorities began to view the situation with alarm, and after the well-known Wartburgfest had caused considerable discussion, the murder of Kotzebue by Karl Sand, which was not in the spirit of the association, but entirely the work of several radical members acting on their own initiative, gave the reactionary party such a fright that drastic measures were taken to stop all furhter agitation. In the famous Karlsbad Decrees of 1819, all secret and unauthorized student societies were summarily prohibited, particularly that "association established some years since under the name of the 'Burschenschaft', since the very conception implies the utterly unallowable plan of permanent fellowship and constant communication between the various universities." Spies were placed in all universities to watch both students and professors, and a stringent censorship of the press was instituted.

What could not be done openly, was done in secret, and

secret chapters of the Burschenschaft, more radical than the original society, came into existence, where the passion for a unified fatherland was kept burning. As late as 1835 Karl Gutzkow and Heinrich Laube were endangered because of their alleged membership in the Burschenschaft. But on the whole the reaction of Metternich was successful, and the champions of freedom had to content themselves with waiting for a better and more propitious time.

This time seemed to have come in the year 1840. On June 7th of this year, Frederick William IV ascended the throne left vacant by his father. Youthful, imaginative, of a romantic nature, he had long been the hope of the liberals. Already long before, a poet, C. K. J. Bunsen, had prophecied of this time:

"Was tausend Jahr vergebens erstrebt das Vaterland,
Wird rasch sich dann erheben von solches Bauherrn Hand." *

Another incident to awaken the national spirit and to raise it to a high pitch was France's attitude towards the Rhine. Having been unsuccessful in their oriental campaign, the French people wished to vindicate their honor by their insolent clamor for the possession of the Rhine. How much the Germans resented this demand can be seen from the remarkable popularity of Nikolaus Becker, who had answered with his famous lines:

"Sie sollen ihn nicht haben,

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* Christian Petzet, Politische Lyrik, p.10.

Den freien deutschen Rhein!" *

Among scores of similar songs, protesting against the insults of France, and expressing the indignation of the Germans thereat, I want to mention only one more, which has since become the German national hymn, Die Wacht am Rhein; by Max Schneckenburger:

"Es braust ein Ruf wie Donnerhall,
Wie Schwertgeklirr und Wogenprall:
Zum Rhein, zum Rhein, zum deutschen Rhein!
Wer will des Stromes Hüter sein?
Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein,
Fest steht und treu die Wacht am Rhein!" *

In this same year the four hundredth anniversary of the German invention of the art of printing was celebrated. This certainly also served as an admonition for energetic action in their endeavors for liberal progress and national unity, by bringing to their consciousness the spiritual leadership which they had enjoyed for a century, as well as the altogether unworthy and ever disgraceful position which they occupied politically among the leading nations of Europe.#

But although these several events occasioned the sudden outbreak of the national spirit in a great number of political lyrics, they themselves would not have been sufficient cause, had not the public spirit reached that stage of development which was nec-

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*Petzet, Ibid.,pp. 17 and 42.

#Petzet, Ibid., 9 ff.

essary for the production as well as the proper understanding of these lyrics. That burning desire for freedom which was at first manifested by the great poets and thinkers of the eighteenth century, and which had then taken hold of the students after the Napoleonic Wars, was now to be transferred to the people. And whereas the speculations of the great eighteenth century poets had been almost wholly ideal and theoretical, and the conceptions of such men as Arndt and Schenkendorf vague and indefinite, the political lyric was now to prosecute definite concrete aims.

Many and diverse incidents in the course of the following years, served as a basis for the political lyric, which the poets used to protest against the existing administration, to demand popular government and reforms, to inculcate greater love for the fatherland, and even to invite the people to rise in arms against the oppressors. Among these events were the various attempts of Frederick William IV to institute popular reforms, the completion of the Cologne Cathedral, as a manifestation of German patriotism, the great conflagration of Hamburg, which was felt as a national disaster, and for the victims of which money was collected in all parts of Germany; there was also the erection of a monument to the old Germanic hero Arminius in the Teutoberger Wald, and many other events, all of which were welcome material for the poetic muse.

A few characteristic selections must suffice here to sketch the range and the spirit of the political poetry. Thus the necessity for a union of the German principalities and of the German people is voiced by Hoffman von Fallersleben, from whose pen we also

have the national hymn, "Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles!"

"Deutschland erst in sich vereint!
Auf! wir wollen uns verbinden!
Und wir können jeden Feind
Treuverbunden überwinden."

" Deutschland erst in sich vereint!
Darnach strebet, darnach ringet!
Dasz der schöne Tag erscheint,
Der uns endlich einheit bringet!" *

He has learned that waiting is useless, that promises will not be kept, and that therefore action on the part of the people is the only remedy:

"Wie viel man auch verspricht,
O traut den Worten nicht!
Ein Wort ist Schall und Wind -
Seid doch nicht taub und blind!" *

More extremely radical is Georg Herwegh, who proclaims openly and defiantly:

"Wir haben lang genug geliebt,
Wir wollen endlich hassen!" *

Filled with a blind rage against all the oppressors, uncompromising,

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*Petzet, Ibid., pp. 53, 81, 138.

to the core, he urges a violent breaking down of all the barriers to freedom, and in a tone that was not heard since Körner's "Frisch auf, mein Volk, die Flammenzeichen rauchen," he issues his mighty call to arms:

"Reiszt der Kreuze aus der Erden!
Alle sollen Schwerter werden!
Gott im Himmel wird's verzeihen.
Laszt, O laszt das Verseschweiszen!
Auf den Ambos legt das Eisen!
Heiland soll das Eisen sein!*

Robert Prutz summarizes the demands of the liberal opposition in a poem entitled "Was wir wollen". The fatherland shall be united, independent, from the Rhine to the shores of the Baltic: the princes shall have confidence in their people, and raise the pillars of their power only on the basis of right and justice; the people shall be brave and mighty, freemen like their forefathers: the laws shall be:

"Kurz und rund,
Die klar und deutlich sprechen,
Und die auch keines Königs Mund
Darf biegen oder brechen."

Only such ministers as desired:

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* Petzet, Ibid., 138.

"Die dem Jahrhundert,
Weit offne Straszen bahnen."

Further demands are free knowledge and science, liberty of the press and a Constitution.* One of the most effective poems of these years is that of Ferdinand Freiligrath, comparing Germany with Hamlet:

"Deutschland ist Hamlet - ernst und stumm,
In seinen Floren jede Nacht,
Geht die begrabene Freiheit um
Und winkt den Männern auf der Wacht.
Da steht die hohe blankbewehrt,
Und sagt dem Zaud'rer, der noch zweifelt:
Sei mir ein Rächer, zieh dein Schwert!
Man hat mir Gift ins Ohr geträufelt."

Hamlet,(or Germany) hears the spirit and the awful truth begins to dawn upon him, but he is vacillating and undecided, he has not the courage to avenge the foul murder by a brave deed. But when he finally takes up the sword in the last act, it is only to his own destruction. The poet warns Germany against the same fate:

"Gottlob, noch sind wir nicht so weit!
Vier Akte sahn wir spielen erst!
Hab' Acht, Held! dasz die Aehnlichkeit
Nicht auch im letzten du bewährst!

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* Petzet, Ibid., p.170.

Wir hoffen früh, wir hoffen spät:
O, raff dich auf und komm zum Streiche!
Und hilf entschlossen, weil es geht
Zu ihrem Recht den flehenden Leiche! *

The fact that these poems were known and read everywhere, that these poets were among the most popular men of the time, is sufficient proof of the great influence they exerted in arousing the public spirit to action. They were the champions of an oppressed and downtrodden people which was clamoring for liberty. Year by year the movement grew, the demands became more insistent, and public opinion was aroused to a higher pitch. Newspapers and magazines took up the cry, other men issued scores of pamphlets denouncing the existing regime, and when this was impossible at home, they went across the boundary, as Karl Heinzen did, to Switzerland, and from here carried on the agitation with unceasing vehemence. All other questions were eclipsed by the one; everybody felt that the time was not far distant when their hopes should be realized. And when in February 1848, the news arrived that France had once more shaken off the rule of monarchy and proclaimed the Second Republic, it was greeted with wild applause, and Freiligrath in London celebrated the event with the well-known poem, "Im Hochland fiel der erste Schusz!"

"Was weiter wird:- noch harren wir!
Doch wird's die Freiheit werden!

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* Petzet, Ibid., p. 195 ff.

Die Freiheit dort, die Freiheit hier,
Die Freiheit jetzt, und für und für,
Die Freiheit ringe auf Erden.
Im Hochland fiel der erste Schusz,
Und die da niederdonnern musz,
Die Lawine kam ins Rollen! *

Space does not permit to go into details here about the memorable events of the next months, or regarding the attempts of the Frankfort Parliament to bring about the ardently desired unification. Once more the Germans were doomed to disappointment. By 1850 the old order had been restored, the old reaction set in again, and and many of the leading men had to flee from Germany for safety, because of their participation in the struggle for freedom.

It is remarkable what a complete change came over German life in the next years. The nation which had been a seething vessel full of political ideas and aspirations in the previous decade, for whom all questions had been merged in the one great desire for freedom, now relapsed into its former indifference. It seemed as if the great climax of 1848 had sucked every drop of energy from their bodies, as if they had been consumed by the great fire which had been raging in them. The political lyrics which had achieved such importance among the poetic productions of the time as to drive all other competitors from the field, now gradually disappeared, until they finally died a slow and natural death. The people instead

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* Petzet, p. 204.

sought consolation and diversion in a semi-romantic world of fiction and in sentimental lyric poetry, where they would not be reminded of their shameful defeat, and in which they could escape from the realities of this life.

We are now to consider a man who in contrast to the class of people just mentioned, remained true to his ideals after the Revolution as well, who did not depart one jot or tittle from his pre-revolutionary attitude, who, although forced to emigrate to America, continued the struggle with the same zeal and ardour which he displayed in Germany. In the next chapter we shall attempt to trace his life and inner development.

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CHAPTER II.

KARL HEINZEN'S LIFE.

Karl Peter Heinzen was born on February 22, 1809, in the village of Grevenbroick, in the vicinity of Cologne. His mother died when he was only four years old. His reminiscences of her were very vague, and perhaps for this very reason, he surrounded her with a halo and idealized her. At any rate she seemed to have been a very good mother to him, and in later years when his father and his teachers tried to curb and break his stubborn and independent spirit, he longed for the kind and sympathetic influence of his deceased mother. His physical strength, which he later displayed to the great disadvantage of his fellow-students, and the height of six feet and three inches, which he attained in mature life, he inherited from his paternal ancestors. With considerable pride he narrates some wonderful feats of strength of his grandfather, who on one occasion picked up an opponent who attacked him in the dark, and hurled him fifteen paces through the door of a nearby house. His great-grandfather enjoyed the reputation of having been even stronger. One of his uncles succeeded in growing to a height of six feet and five inches. His father had taken up the study of philosophy, jurisprudence, and forestry in Cologne and Bonn, and in 1795 under the regime of the French Republic, had received a position as "garde générale des camps et forets." He was at the time an ardent Republican, and his enthusiasm led him to criticize his former teachers

severely for not daring to profess publicly the republican principles which they had inculcated in him. However, when he was made inspector of forests under the new Prussian rule in 1815, he also became worldly wise and adapted himself to the circumstances. This explains the fact that he never sought to influence his son Karl in the direction of republicanism. Indeed, he was never able to understand the peculiar nature of his son, and therefore failed completely in the choice of the proper method of bringing him up, seeking to accomplish by force and harshness what leniency and sympathy alone could have achieved.

After the death of his mother he was placed in the hands of the parents and the sister of his mother, who lived in the little village of Nievenheim. His relatives, as almost all the people in this village, belonged to the Catholic Church, and were haunted by the prevalent superstitions of the time, with which they played upon his youthful imagination. A little later he was placed in the local schools, where he also received religious instruction. He was even selected to assist the priest in the ceremonies of the mass and to carry the crucifix at the head of processions. At the age of nine he was sent to Wittlar, where his education was continued under the supervision of his paternal uncle, the "Domherr" Heinzen, who intended to prepare him for the priesthood, but soon relinquished the the idea. This religious training was without doubt one of the factors that caused his antipathy and hostility against every church and every religion which he showed in later life. This narrow life, with all its dead formalism and its many superstitions, was bound to

produce a reaction in a clear-headed, logical person like Heinzen.

When his father moved to Cleve some time later and took his four children with him, Heinzen rejoiced, for now he came to live in a large city, and could also attend the local Gymnasium, where a larger circle of acquaintances could be found. But he fared no better here. Not only were there continual conflicts between him and his father, against whose harsh treatment he rebelled, but he also had many clashes with the teachers at the Gymnasium. The dry routine of the school, with its many regulations, was repulsive to him, and to give vent to his anger he resorted to pranks of all kinds, which almost drove his superiors to desperation. To put an end to the continual warfare, his father sent him to a private institution at Kempen, the Director of which was his college-mate and friend. But this was going from the frying-pan into the fire, for the school was a former monastery, many of whose teachers were priests. It was a veritable prison, and every movement was controlled by stringent rules. Every morning the hundred inmates were obliged to attend church service at an early hour, not to speak of Sundays and holidays, and during the day they passed most of the time in the classes or in their rooms, with little opportunity to enjoy freedom in the open air. It is not surprising that under such circumstances a healthy, robust person like Heinzen, sought relief by harrowing and tormenting his teachers wherever possible. Finally his father was asked to remove the rebel from the school, but upon his father's plea another trial was made. The Director now accorded him more humane treatment, better adapted to his peculiar nature, and

the results were satisfactory, so that he could leave the college with a fairly good testimonial. But when he reentered the Gymnasium at Cleve, conditions had not changed there, and the old rebellious spirit broke out again, now taking refuge in more refined means, in verses and satires on his teachers. In his whole conduct of this time he already manifests the future revolutionist, who, as he himself says, must be born; whom circumstances may be able to develop, but not to create. In his autobiography he says: "From childhood on nothing was more odious to me, than to do something because others did so, or to recognize something because it had the sanction of tradition. My natural feeling rebelled against everything that I was to do without my own initiative, inclination, or conviction. On the other hand, I always expressed my opinions openly, and was more inclined to show a hostile, rather than a friendly attitude."*

Before even finishing the complete course at the Gymnasium, he went to the University of Bonn in 1827, and registered as a student of medicine. He was, however, more interested in the study of history and literature, and neglected the study of medicine. One day, while he was obliged to dissect a corpse before the class, he was so filled with horror that he gave up medicine in disgust, and devoted himself exclusively to philology. He did not at first take part in the customary drinking and duelling of the students, but many societies cast admiring and longing glances on his imposing

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* Gesammelte Werke, Vol.III,p. 33.

figure. When on one occasion he had given Wienbarg, who was later to play an important role in "Young Germany", and who had smashed a wine-bottle on the head of a small opponent, a good thrashing, and thrown him out of the room, he yielded to the entreaties to join the "Westphalia", and became a member. He was soon recognized as one of the most formidable duellists on the floor, and many students received marks of distinction from his sword which they kept all their lives. But with the professors he was on no better terms than in his previous years, and they had to suffer many annoyances as the result of his dissatisfaction. His insolent demeanor and his sarcastic tone of speech against his superiors caused his dismissal in 1829.

Heinzen did not shed any tears on this account. On the contrary, he was more glad than sorry, for now he felt himself freed from all the oppressing limitations under which he had suffered and fumed all his life. He had long felt an ardent longing for a wider sphere of action, for adventures, and for travel. But the lack of money, which thwarted many other plans of his in the future, was an insurmountable obstacle. With an adventurous friend he therefore decided to go to East India, with one of the regiments of Holland. In the fall of the same year they set out for Holland, and soon were enlisted as "Unterofficiere" in an expedition for Batavia. But here life was almost unbearable. The strict discipline of a soldier's life, the hardships of the long voyage, and the monotonous, wearisome life in Batavia were too much for him. He applied for his release, and was fortunate enough to secure it. Sixteen months after his departure he again landed in Rotterdam, penniless as before. It

is interesting to note that the July Revolution in France, of which however, he did not hear until his return in 1831, did not affect him in the least. His political interest was not to be awakened until later.

He was, however, ashamed of his destitute condition, and too proud to go home as a prodigal son. On the other hand, he had not been permanently cured of his romantic desire for travel and adventure, and was considering the possibility of another voyage , possibly to America, but in order not to become a deserter, he first entered the Prussian Army as "einjähriger freiwilliger". During this time he became acquainted with Louise Moras, the daughter of a lawyer in Kleve, the widow of the Rittmeister Schiller. She was a woman of remarkable ability, beautiful, cultured, and kind. For a time they avoided each other, but when they became better acquainted and saw the similarity of their ideals and aspirations, their fate was sealed, and they decided to marry. All Heinzen's other plans were thus suddenly shattered, and he now was obliged to secure some means of livelihood, not only for himself, but also for the four children of his wife. What was he to do? He had no source of income; he had not even learned a trade. The only way out of the difficulty seemed to be to secure a position as tax-collector in the civil service of Prussia, but this was not such an easy matter after all. After many disgusting experiences in the so-called examinations, he finally secured a position a year and a half later. During the next eight years he pursued this as an occupation, living first in the city of Kleve, and afterwards in Gummersbach, Elberfeld, and Cologne. In

Cologne he advanced to the position of revenue-inspector, and later served in the capacity of "Kollationator" in the office of the Director of Revenues of his province. Before he left Kleve, when he was hardly twenty-six years old, his wife died. She had been a true comrade to him and the only consolation in his many trials. Deep as his grief was, he was not even granted a few days leave from the monotonous work at which he was engaged. But the four children had to be fed and provided for, and for their sake he continued at his task, which at times was almost unbearable. His remuneration was two hundred and forty dollars per year, a small enough sum on which to rear a family, especially when he was obliged to spend whole days on his inspection tours and pay extra for board and lodging. But there were other causes for dissatisfaction and opposition. The whole system, with the wholesale suppression of all individual effort, was repulsive to his independent and freedom-loving nature. He objected to being used as a mere machine, and wanted free play for his own inclinations. To put an end to this servility he finally severed his connections with the service after a "personal struggle of eight years with the bureaucracy". The political side of the question had not yet influenced him, or been a factor in his opposition. Although of a republican disposition, he had not as yet reached that stage of clear understanding of the political aspect. His struggle was an entirely personal affair, without any general revolutionary tendencies. However, his service in the bureaucracy was a practical training school for his later opposition, and furnished him with the material for his epoch-making treatise: "The Prussian Bureaucracy".

After quitting the civil service, Heinzen attempted to make a living from the proceeds of his publications, but he soon saw that this was impossible, and accepted a more remunerative position as "Direktionssekretär" of the "Rheinische Eisenbahngesellschaft", and later as Secretary of the Fire Insurance Company at Aachen. But he was able to find time for writing nevertheless, and published a collection of his poems, several comedies, and a narrative of his voyage to Batavia, and his experiences there. He also acted as correspondent for the "Leipziger Allgemeine" and the "Mannheimer Abendzeitung" and later for the "Rheinische Zeitung" in Cologne.

The above mentioned book, "The Prussian Bureaucracy", was a landmark in Heinzen's career. Its hostile reception by the Prussian authorities, and the subsequent persecution of Heinzen, were the real causes which made him extend his personal struggles for freedom to a general political opposition and a revolutionary campaign of sweeping campaign. This book had been forbidden by the authorities a year before it actually made its appearance. Nevertheless Heinzen, as obstinate as ever, decided to publish it, and found a very ingenious method of circulating it. When he had announced the proposed plan and contents of the book, and had asked for contributions for its publication, the whole police was instructed to keep an open eye on proceedings, and to confiscate any copies that might appear. But Heinzen had not made public the name of the publisher, and secretly had instructed him to arrange the distribution in such a way that the book would arrive in all the Prussian cities at approximately the same time. The booksellers were urged to dispose of them immedi-

ately. These instructions were all properly carried out, and thus the authorities were able to lay their hands on only a few copies. The book created a great sensation, not only on account of the daring language, but also on account of the author's intimate and thorough knowledge of his subject, and later as high as ten to twelve dollars were paid for a single copy.

As soon as the book arrived in Cologne, proceedings were instituted against Heinzen on the grounds of "causing dissatisfaction with the government among its citizens." Heinzen at first intended to appear and answer the charge, if the case were heard by a proper court, but he got wind of another charge, made in secret, for lese-majesty. Convinced now that he would not get an impartial hearing, he took the advice of friends, and crossed the Belgian border in November, 1844, before the intended arrest could be made. A so-called "Stechbrief" was issued against Heinzen, but he immediately replied by another "Stechbrief", in which he gives his motives for his previous acts, and severely criticizes the existing conditions with passionate eloquence. This, of course, only endangered his position all the more, but Heinzen was not the man to be influenced by consideration of his personal safety, and from this time on, he devoted all of his energies, at least as far as Germany was concerned, to the cause of revolutionary propaganda.

In Brussels he awaited the decision of the court, and when he learned in March, 1845, that he had been convicted on the charge of treason, he did not feel safe even in this free state, fearing that Prussia would either request his extradition from the Belgian

government, or attempt to secure his person through the agency of secret spies. He decided therefore to make his escape while it was still possible. With Ferdinand Freiligrath, who had come to the same conclusion, he made the wearisome trip to Switzerland, which had been the destination of many refugees before him.

His family, which had been living with relatives in Heidelberg during his stay in Brussels, now joined him, and they made Zurich their home. Heinzen now became the leader in a vigorous campaign for a revolution in Germany. Freiligrath, Roge, Herwegh, and Julius Fröbel were his most influential allies in this endeavor. Together they founded a quarterly publication, "The Opposition", of which Heinzen was the chief editor. Besides, he was the author of numerous "Flogschriften", pamphlets, which he always managed to smuggle into Germany despite the vigilant eyes of the police.

Regarding this period in his life, Heinzen tells us in his biography: "I never felt prouder in my life than at this time, when I, as a single individual, could offer resistance to this mighty power, before which seventy millions trembled. I did not delude myself with the idea that I would be able to cause a revolution through the mere publication of revolutionary pamphlets; nor did I have any inkling of the fact that it was to follow so swiftly. But I had hopes that the servile Germans would eventually become rebellious through the reckless expression of my revolutionary opinions, and that my example could not but make followers. I wanted to carry the audacity of my language so far that there could be no other possibility but drastic action. A people will finally learn to desire and to do, what it has learned to think and to feel. At the same time I in-

tended to incite the reactionary party to a blind rage, so that they themselves would call for resistance by force through their repressive measures. A revolutionary conspiracy, or the organization for a definite act, was out of the question. I only wanted to shape the thoughts and feelings by spiritual and psychological means, and to prepare them, so that they could utilize the proper opportunity for a general rising, the impulse to which is usually given by the reaction itself. An activity of this kind, continued for years, cannot remain without results, and I am still convinced that a single writer, who can reach an oppressed people from a place where his safety is insured, is able to cause the downfall of any reaction." *

"The Opposition", which was really published by Leske in Darmstadt, but which appeared nominally in Mannheim, was soon suppressed by the police. Instead, Heinzen issued a new paper, "Der teutsche Tribun", anonymously in Zurich. But the style was soon recognized as that of Heinzen, and the Prussian Government protested against it to the authorities at Zürich. The permit for his residence in Zurich was extended to a period of only six more months, with the condition that no more such pamphlets be issued, no matter where published. But this condition was disregarded by Heinzen, and a great number of satires continued to be distributed in Germany. Now the conservative party in Zurich became alarmed, and most of the leading newspapers in Switzerland condemned Heinzen and his policy.

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* Erlebtes, II, 108 ff.

When finally the Bavarian Government added its protest to that of Prussia, Heinzen was compelled to leave Zurich. His attempts to settle in Bern and other places failed, and so he decided in 1847 to emigrate to America.

Through the Duke of Braunschweig, who issued the "Deutsche Zeitung" in London, in which he reprinted most of Heinzen's bitter criticisms, Heinzen was also made acquainted with Wilhelm von Eichthal; the latter was editor of the "Schnellpost" in New York, and by reprinting many of the "Flogschriften", had interested the Germans in America in the support of revolutionary propaganda. When Heinzen's position became untenable in Switzerland, Wilhelm von Eichthal invited him to come to New York and assist him in editing the "Schnellpost". Thus Heinzen departed from Switzerland, and in January, 1848, he arrived in New York. Eichthal was, however, no more among the living when he arrived, but an enthusiastic reception had been prepared for him by the Germans in New York. As Heinzen was wholly without means, a friend had purchased the "Schnellpost" for him already before his arrival. With Ivan Tissowski, the former revolutionary dictator of Krakau, as co-editor, Heinzen immediately set an extreme-radical program. His one aim and desire was a revolution in Germany, and to this he devoted all his energies. Whoever did not agree with his opinions, was unmercifully criticized. Thus he soon became estranged from a number of influential German Liberals, in New York, who were opposed to such drastic revolutionary methods. Heinzen knew no compromises, and considered all those his enemies who did not go to the extremes which he advocated. Ridicule and sarcasm were the weapons with which he fought for his project.

Heinzen did not limit himself to affairs in Germany, but also applied his extreme principles to American conditions, condemning in sweeping terms the policies of the various political parties. To counteract these evil tendencies he wanted to found a new radical party, which was to carry out his high ideals, but he found few receptive ears for such an undertaking. He was told that he was still "too green" in the country to have a valid judgment in its affairs, and was simply ignored. Heinzen was not slow to take revenge for this failure by scathing articles in his paper on the stupidity of the Germans in America.

Thus in a few weeks he had made a host of enemies and only a very few friends. Even with the Socialists, who had welcomed him as their Saviour, he had a row, as well as with the laboring classes and the communists.

While in the midst of this agitation, the steamship Cambria suddenly brought the news on March 18th, 1848, of the flight of Louis Philippe and the establishment of a Provisional Government in France. The excitement in New York knew no bounds, and meetings were held everywhere in honor of the event. Heinzen writes: "I count this day the happiest which I have experienced in America. What excitement, what hopes, what a satisfaction for the faith in a great idea!" * He wanted to return to Europe immediately, for he was confident that a revolution in Germany would follow, but he had not even ten dollars.

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* Erlebtes, II, p.196.

Upon issuing a proclamation in the "Schnellpost", calling for funds to support a similar revolution in Germany, he received a small sum of money, and when the "Cambria" returned on March 27th, Heinzen sailed with it.

Arriving in London a few weeks later, he found the same excitement there among the Germans. After a few days stay with Freiligrath, he went to Geneva via Paris, where he found his family penniless as always, but taken care of by friends. He had expected to be elected a member of the Frankfort Parliament, but things had meanwhile come to such a pass that all hopes were lost for the Radicals. Hearing of the formation of a revolutionary army in Baden under the command of Hecker, he changed his plans and joined him. Having preached revolution for so long a time, he now felt it to be his duty to put his theories into practice, since the opportunity had presented itself. But Heinzen and Hecker could not agree. And when the attempted rising became an ignominious failure, they parted as bitter enemies.

Heinzen hereupon joined Struve and Karl Blind in Strassburg as a member of the "committee for the further propagation of the revolution", but this committee was dissolved by a commissioner of Lamartine who did not hesitate to use force in order to effect the dissolution. Heinzen decided to return to Switzerland, and to carry on the agitation by means of his powerful pen, but his embittered tone of speech caused his expulsion from most of the cantons. Hoping to find security in his former place of refuge, Geneva, he went there, but the Confederate Council now requested his expulsion from the whole domain of Switzerland, and the President, Fazy, was

only too willing to execute this command. Nevertheless Heinzen managed to pass the winter in Geneva secretly, in the house of a friend, the scholar Galeer.

When the revolution broke out anew, however, in the Palatinate and in Baden, in the spring of 1849, Heinzen immediately departed for Karlsruhe to offer his assistance. But his participation was to be even more of a failure than in the previous year. Whereas he had only clashed with Hecker in the first year, he now came into conflict with almost all the leaders, with Brentano, Peter, Struve, Willich, and Siegel. As a result, he was condemned to remain in a state of sorrowful inactivity. Under the auspices of the publisher Hoff, he now established a "literary bureau", the object of which was to furnish leading articles for the different democratic papers. Embittered as he was, these articles were more of the nature of satirical criticisms, rather than an enthusiastic encouragement of the revolutionary movement. The rapid advance of the Prussians soon put an end to the whole movement, and Heinzen was again obliged to flee to Switzerland for protection.

With Struve and Mazzini he began to publish another revolutionary journal called "Der Völkerbund", but only one copy appeared. The authorities again became alarmed at the great number of refugees who were pouring into Switzerland from all sides, and requested a number of the leaders, among them Heinzen, to leave the country. Heinzen refused, on the grounds of having no money, and it was therefore decided to pay his expenses for transportation to America. But Heinzen still had hopes of another revolution, and protested against

being deported to America, and therefore his destination was changed to England.

Arriving in London, Heinzen lost none of his enthusiazm for the revolution, and immediately looked for ways and means to continue his literary activity. But writing an article was easier than publishing it. The Duke of Braunschweig finally consented to print his pamphlet, "Die Lehren der Revolution". Its appearance caused a great scandal in London, and the London Times, which branded him as a revolutionary monstrosity, even went so far as to request his expulsion. Although he was personally unmolested, he found it continually more difficult to gain a livelihood. With the help of Mazzini he scraped together enough money to enable him to emigrate to America for the second time, accompanied by his second wife and his children,

During his absence Heinzen had sent frequent contributions to the "Schnellpost", and at first they were read with great interest. But when the sarcastic condemnations of Hecker appeared, the friends became gradually estranged from him. This was Heinzen's bitter experience when he arrived in New York for the second time in October, 1850, and when a little later he announced a lecture on the Revolution, and the causes for its failure, only thirty two people made their appearance. That no money could be made by lectures was evident, and as there was no opportunity at present to engage in journalistic work, he was soon obliged to seek work in the workshop of a friend. But in 1851, after the "Völkerbund" had to be abandoned after the first issue, he was offered the editorship of the "Schnell-

post" by the owner, and he gladly accepted. He continued his former independent and radical policy in the paper. But now the German-American press, which had ignored him formerly, began to attack him, and as we can imagine, Heinzen was not slow in replying. The new Radical Party, of which he was to be the leader, was made the subject of many editorials. Although his hopes were not realized, he managed to start a Democratic Society among the newly immigrated Germans, with the express object "to reform the United States and to revolutionize Europe". Besides the formation of an army for the next European war, Heinzen also had a remedy for the American conditions in a comprehensive platform, from which the following sentences are quoted as illustrations of his advanced ideas:

"It is the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all those places which are under its exclusive jurisdiction. - We are opposed to further slave states or slave territories. - The building of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is not to be left to private individuals, but should be undertaken by Congress. - We demand universal suffrage without distinction of race or color. - We demand the election of all officials by the direct vote of the people. - The recall of representatives shall be established by law. - We consider it the duty of the legislature to limit the time of work to eight, or at most, to ten hours a day for adults, and to five hours for children." *

It is not to be denied that Heinzen also made many demands

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* Deutsche Pionier, Vol.13, p. 162 ff.

in this platform which bore evidence of his unfamiliarity with American conditions. But on the whole it created a sensation, and even greater opposition, which, however, only incited Heinzen to more emphatic denunciations.

In September, 1851, Heinzen severed his connections with the "Schnellpost", and with the aid of friends, was able to establish the "New Yorker Deutsche Zeitung", which, however, was discontinued in December of the same year for financial reasons. The next venture was a weekly paper, the "Janus", which after a year, suffered the same fate. During the summer of 1852 Heinzen made a lecturing tour through the United States, speaking on some radical themes in Philadelphia, Washington, Cincinnati, Dayton, Toledo, St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. But at the end of his trip his treasury showed a deficit, and his health had also suffered considerably.

His next paper was the "Herold des Westens" in Louisville, which was destroyed by fire on December 3rd, 1853, three months after Heinzen had become its editor. In the same year the "Pionier" came into existence, which appeared first in Louisville, then in Cincinnati, and then in New York; since 1859 it has appeared in Boston.

The "Pionier" was to be the crowning work of Heinzen's life. It was indeed a pioneer in the propagation of radicalism, and in it Heinzen expresses his ideas regarding the inalienable rights of man and of nations freely and unreservedly. Fearlessly and ceaselessly he devoted himself to the realization of his high ideals: free human beings, free nations, and above all, a free German Fatherland. In the "Pionier", he also expressed his opinions regarding German lit-

erature, which form the subject of this work.

The "Pionier" continued to appear until December, 1879, when a paralytic stroke forced Heinzen to take leave of his readers. Finally, after a prolonged period of sickness, he died on November 12th, 1880, and was buried on November 15th. A great number of friends, men and women, were present at the ceremony to pay him a last tribute of honor. The "Turnverein" of Boston, and the "Orpheus" glee club rendered a few hymns, and S. R. Köhler, editor of the American Art Review, delivered an oration in German, while Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney delivered one in the English language.

Heinzen was without doubt one of the great men in German-American history. H. A. Rattermann gives him the following characterization: "He was a giant in mind an in body, and he prosecuted all of his endeavors with the most inflexible energy. For him there existed no authority, no limitations. Popular favor and friendship were alike disregarded in hi activities; tolerance was unknown to him, when his own opinions came into consideration. Far removed from the possibility of corruption, he sat in judgment over the social and political conditions, and like a Zeus he hurled his polemical thunderbolts against all, friends or enemies. A despot, he maintained the infallibility of his own opinions; and woe to him who dared to gainsay him. There was a certain self-florification in his manners, which he always showed. But in regard to his material welfare he sacrificed everything, even to privation, in order to satisfy his ambition. Nevertheless he was a character such as seldom appears in history, and a thinking person who is able to rise above the

ordinary in this world, will always admire the greatness of Heinzen and appreciate his ceaseless striving." *

Among the English speaking Americans Heinzen also had his admirers, although his activities were restricted almost exclusively to the German language. As an example of the high esteem in which he was held, I will quote the words of George Chainey, which are taken from a lecure which he delivered on Heinzen in Paine National Hall in Boston:

"Karl Heinzen sleeps the dreamless sleep of eternal rest. He lies today beneath the forest trees he loved. Shall I say he? Nay, he is not there. He, like one of lod, has risen, not in the flesh, nor that I know of in spiritual consciousness. I do not say he has not, because I know not all the secrets of life, much more of death. But he is not hidden within the tomb. Friends may plant flowers there, and water them with tears; a marble monument may mark the place of his rest; but when the flowers are all dead, when the trees have fallen beneath the axe or the hand of time, when the marble monument has crumbled back into dust, and the very place is blotted from the memory of man, Karl Heinzen will live on with an ever widening influence in the thoughts and loves of men. It matters but little whether his name live or die: the work for truth and humanity he wrought shall endure while men exist. Things are not what they seem. The great men of this age are not those who are feasted,

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* Deutsche Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 241.

and run after by the crowd, but the patient pioneers who with giant blows are making a clearing in the forest of superstition, causing the wilderness to blossom as a rose, and for the sickening, deadly malaria of piety that saps the manhood of our age, bringing the health of self-reliance and the joy of self-respect. They are the men and women who, through the long night watches of the world's ignorance, keep brightly flaming the torch of thought, and so are constantly widening the skirts of light, and making the struggle with darkness narrower. When man comes to his own; when each child born into the world finds all the avenues of truth open to his exploring mind: when art gladdens every eye with its cheering ray; when right and justice between man and man are the only gods; when the State in its devotion to the happiness of all, is but the outward expression of the best instincts of humanity; when the heaven men strive to win is on the earth, and the highest honor is to be a man; - then, but not before, will be learned the full life and lesson of Karl Heinzen!" *

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* Deutsche Pionier, Vol. 13, p. 241 ff.

CHAPTER III.

HEINZEN'S POETRY AND LITERARY ACTIVITY.

Karl Heinzen's name will not live or die with his poetry. His greatness does not depend on any literary productions, but upon his mighty personality, his inflexible will, his high ideals of a free humanity, for which he fought with such admirable persistency. If he had no other claims for recognition and immortality except his poetry, he would long since have been forgotten. Nevertheless it will not be out of place here to devote a few pages to the consideration of his poetry, as it will add to the more complete picture of the man, and reveal to us some of his ideals and aspirations. The desire to write poetry manifested itself very early in Heinzen, and already during his attendance at the Gymnasium in Kleve, he was engaged in writing verses, mostly satires at the expense of his teachers. His literary studies at the University of Bonn increased his desire to achieve distinction as a poet. As early as 1827, when he was only eighteen years old, he issued his first manifesto, criticizing in no uncertain terms the shallowness and imitativeness in the poetry of his contemporaries, and setting up a program which he expected to adopt. The poem, "Ermannung eines Jungen Poeten", is modelled after the "knittelverse" of Hans Sachs, and the iambic verse of Goethe's Faust. In it Heinzen complains of the lack of originality in the productions of his time. One regards Goethe as his master and is bent on approximating his manner as closely as possible:

"Will Künstlerleben so recht göthiglich umfassen
Und sich in seiner Sprach' und Styl
So recht gemächlich göthisch gehen lassen."

Another seeks his ideal in bombastic verses and rhetorical flights, and thus hopes to have rivalled Schiller, but

"Der Schiller sturmt zwar in den Versen,
Doch in dem Versemacher nicht!"

The third is striving to write in the form of Klopstock's odes:

"Sein Nachbar brummt Klopstockisch-odisch,
Dasz euch der Kopf wird antipodisch."

And he summarizes the whole artificiality, with its empty phrases and dead verses:

"So plagt sich jeder was er kann,
Es ist ein Jammer anzusehen;
Nach Unnatur, nach Prunk strebt Jedermann,
Wahrheit will keiner üben und verstehen.
Sie phantasieren Höll' und Himmelwärts,
Und sind zufrieden, sind nur Worte gleich zur Hand,
Und redet ihr Verstand, so spricht er ohne Herz,
Und redet gar ihr Herz, verlier'n sie den Verstand.
Nicht überdacht, was sie gefühlt,
Und nicht gefühlt, was sie gedacht,
So ist's wie man mit Worten spielt,

So ist's wie man Gedichte macht."

Heinzen scorns to follow in the footsteps of the great masters, but yet he feels that he is a child of his time, and that his powers of creation are limited. Therefore he decides to dedicate himself to satire, confident that where there is so little to praise he will find so much more to denounce:

"So steht's nun mit der jungen Poesie,
Der ich geweiht mein bürgerlich Genie.
Wie bring' ich Licht und Rath darein?
Nachäffer werden will ich nie,
Und doch beherrscht mich die Zeit wie sie:
Zum Schaffen reicht nicht Phantasie,
Zu Oden nicht der Schwung allein,
Die Elegie macht mir und And'ren Pein,
Und dennoch musz gedichtet sein.
Ich denke, die Satvre ist
Doch auch, um ein Genie zu adeln,
Und wo nichts mehr zu loben ist,
Da gilt es um so mehr zu tadeln.
Drum sei's! Die Elegie ist mir fatal,
Dem Wortgepräng' und Schwung will ich entsagen,
So werd' ich dieser Narrenwelt einmal
Recht frank und derb die Wahrheit sagen." *

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* Gedichte, pp. 47-52.

Considering that this was written in the same year in which Heine's "Buch der Lieder" and "Reisebilder" appeared, we might almost regard Heinzen as one of the forerunners of Young Germany". Heinzen evidently felt that a new period was beginning to dawn in German literature, and he here expresses the theory which Heine and "Young Germany" were to put to practical use later. The battle cries of the new Storm and Stress period are here all clearly enunciated: the disgust at the slavish imitations of Goethe and Schiller, the craving for something new and original, the demand to speak openly and truthfully on all matters, the tendency to satire.

In another poem, entitled "Denken und Poesie", Heinzen expresses similar opinions. True poetry is not produced by cold calculation of the head, but it is the spontaneous expression of the soul. Only the artless, childlike soul is surrounded by the veil of poetry, a gift of heaven, and not a commodity to be bought:

"O kindliche Seele,
Unschuld'ger Natursinn,
Verschwund'nes Geschenk einer fernen Zeit!
Nur du kennst das Glück!
Vom Wissen, vom Denken,
Vergebens gesucht.
Du kindliche Seele, von Genien bewacht,
Nur dich sucht das Glück,
Denn du suchst es noch nicht.
Von Träumen gewoben,
Umspinnt dich der rosige Flor,

Nur dir bringt die Dichtung
Den Himmel in's Herz,
Und, ohne den Poszquell,
Bist du nur ihr Liebling."

What an ideal conception of poetry, what a eulogy of the simple, natural, unaffected poems of the great masters like Goethe and Mörike! But Heinzen does not find this spontaneity in his contemporaries:

"Ich höre, Dichter, in deinem Gedicht
Nicht singen deine Lust,
Nicht seufzen deine Schmerz;
Sagen hör' ich dich nur zu mir,
Dasz du vorsingst mir deine Lust,
Und vorseufzest deinen Schmerz."

And he complains with great emotion:

"Ach, keine freie
Blume der Natur,
Musz selbst die Dichtung
Die Tochter werden
Der mühsam treibenden Kunst?" *

We see that Heinzen has clearly grasped and expressed the

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* Gedichte, pp. 53-58.

essential difference between genuine and counterfeit poetry, a distinction which will be valid for all time. Real poetry must be the expression of the personal experience, it must be the result of an inner impulse, and cannot be manufactured according to given rules.

Let us now consider to what extent Heinzen has reached this ideal in his own poetry. During the next fifteen years he produced a great number of poems, the voyage to Batavia and his experiences there, the attachment to his bride, and the death of his wife, giving the occasion for most of them. Even during his service as tax-collector in the Prussian bureaucracy he occasionally found the inspiration to write, and in 1841 a collection of his poems was published in Cologne. His contemporaries evidently thought very highly of his achievements, and as eminent a critic as Wolfgang Menzel, the "literary pope" in Stuttgart, devoted two pages to a review of Heinzen's poems. He is very favorably impressed with them, and considers them sufficient proof of his poetic talent. To quote his own words:

"So findet sich hier denn manches Gedicht, bei dem wir die Freude haben, zu fühlen, dasz es in schweren und leichten Stunden frei entstanden und nicht gemacht sei. Es weht darin ein Hauch des Lebens, bald ein ranker und kalter, bald aber auch ein zarter, von fremdartigen Düften trunkener Hauch, der uns überzeugt, der Dichter hat Wirkliches erlebt, er hat nicht blosz hinter seinem Fenster Phantasieblumen aufgekränkelt." *

As one of the most characteristic and beautiful poems of

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* Literaturblatt, Feb.7, 1842.

the whole collection, Menzel quotes fragments from "Die Musik", which remind him of Hölderlin's muse. As an illustration I will cite only the first eight lines:

"Empfindung selt'ner Lust! Ich bin allein
Und fühle doch so freundlich mich erheitert,
Die Brust beklommen von der Sehnsucht Pein,
Sie fühlt sich doch so sorgenlos erweitert;
Ich bin in keinen Edentraum verzückt,
Und dennoch lös't das Wirkliche die Bande
Ich bin, wie von der Liebe Lust beglückt,
Und doch so fern von dem geliebten Lande." *

I cannot understand how Menzel was able to detect any similarity in lines like these to the beautiful and touching verses of Hölderlin. I fail to be impressed by them. I consider them more an expression of the head than of the heart. There is an atmosphere of the study, of calculation, about them. More genuine feeling is expressed in the poems dedicated to his wife Luise, when her early death had moved him deeply:

"Nichts mehr zu haben
In dieser trüben, verödeten Welt,
Nichts mehr von deinem Sonnenherzen,

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* Literaturblatt, Ibid.

Nichts mehr von deiner Flammenliebe,
Nichts mehr von dem, was Luise hiesz!" *

But on the whole, his poems do not breathe that spirit of innermost experience which is so characteristic of true poetry. What could be more devoid of poetic qualities than the following comparisons?

"Du bist der Hauch, der durch die Zweige flüstert,
Du bist der Stral, der durch die Schatten bricht,
Du bist die Nacht, die mein Asyl umdüstert,
Du bist der Funke von dem Morgenlicht."

"Du bist die Ruh', die in den Wäldern schweiget,
Du bist der Geist, der in den Lüften weht,
Du bist der Duft, der aus den Blumen steiget,
Du bist die Blume selbst, die nie vergeht." *

And thus he continues with twenty more lines, all of the same pattern.

But Heinzen himself recognized that odes and elegies were above his powers and inclinations, and therefore he selected the satire and polemic form of poetry as more congenial to his nature. He is proud of being a born revolutionist, in opposition to existing conditions, and an enemy of all compromises:

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* Gedichte, pp. 2 and 13.

"Was du liebst, für das muszt du dein Leben lassen,
Was du hassest, muszt du gründlich, tötlich hassen!
Weg die Spreu, die vor dem Wind der Laune stiebt,
Nur der Halbe weisz nicht, ob er haszt oder liebt!"

There is only one alternative, tyranny or freedom:

"Freiheit fragt euch: wollt ihr mich verlassen?
Tyrannei euch: wollt ihr mich nicht hassen?
Eins der beiden müszt ihr wählen recht und schlicht,
Einen Mittelweg, beim Teufel, gibt es nicht." *

The only way to secure this freedom is to fight for it. To beg for it is unworthy of a free man:

"Wer da bettelt um Liebe, beweis't, dasz er keine verdienet,
Und um Freiheit und Recht bettelt nur wer sie nicht kannt.
Wer nicht den Muth zu fordern, der hat nicht das Recht zu erlangen;
Kampf ist das Mittel des Rechts, Sieg ist der Freiheit Beginn:
Hohn werd' Allen zu Theil, die als Freund behandeln und Gönner,
Jeden Räuber des Rechts hinter dem Nimbus der Macht.
Feind ist, Feind bis zum Tod, wer das Menschtum raubet dem Menschen,

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* Gedichte I, p.139 ff.

Unmensch ist er, Barbar: Nieder mit jeder Barbar!" *

But Heinzen was destined to have the bitter experience of knowing that he stood almost alone in the fight for the realization of his ideals. The great mass of the people, for whom he carried on his struggle, was not in sympathy with him. Like Ibsen in his "Enemy of the People", he has come to the conclusion that the real hindrance to the achievement of his ideals is not the small but powerful ruling class of despots, but the great mass of conservative and narrow-minded subjects, who have not the courage and the desire to throw off the yoke which oppresses them. Like a true prophet he feels that only after his death will mankind come to recognize the validity of his doctrines, but that in the present life he must suffer the loneliness which is the fate of all great men:

"Was And're freut, es ist für dich verloren,
Und was dem Ziel ist, will die Menge nicht,
Sie wird es wollen erst auf deinem Grabe.
So lebst du nur im Reiche des Gedankens,
Du wirst ein Fremdling stets im Leben sein,
Und deine Wirklichkeit folgt deiner Tode."

In his detestation of the mass he sometimes approaches Nietzsche by the forceful epithets applied to them:

"Und nur, wer es verachtet, wird mit Künsten,

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* Gedichte, p.147.

Es gängeln, das Alltagsgeschlecht der Menschen."

But he is determined to remain firm, to carry on the fight for truth and freedom. Above all he finds the greatest consolation in remaining true to himself, even if he should stand alone against all the world:

"Und wenn du keinem auch gefällst, sich selbst
Stets treu sein, ist der höchste Ruhm des Manns.
So stehst du nun gerüstet und getröstet;
Was kommen mag, dich wirft's nicht von der Bahn,
Nur eine Qual gibt's, die des Trost's entbehrt:
Es ist der Schmerz, dasz immer für die groszen
Gedanken sich zu klein zeigt diesz Geschlecht.
Wo will'ger Sinn ist, mangelt der Verstand,
Und wo Verstand ist, fehlt der will'ge Sinn.
Verständnisz, Adel, Grösze, Schönheit, Herz -
Nur diesz, so denkst du, macht den Menschen, und
Doch ist's so selten in dem Schwarm der Menschen,
Dasz deiner Brust sich stets entringt der Ruf;
Wie wenig Menschen in der groszen Menschheit!" *

In this powerful and sweeping denunciation Heinzen comes very near the condemnation hurled against the masses by Hölderlin and Nietzsche. Heinzen also resembles the latter in his hate of

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* Gedichte, 117 ff.

Christianity. He once said that Christianity was the religion of the flogged, the same thought that Nietzsche was to express a little later. This scorn and detestation for Christianity also becomes evident in some of his poems. Only a scoundrel and a Christian will make friends with those who have him and molest him with their stupidity.

"Es ist keine Kunst,
Die Menschen zu lieben,
So lang ihre Gunst
Dirmöglich geblieben."

"Doch wenn dir nur Hasz,
Und Dummheit begegnen,
So ist es kein Spasz,
Die auch noch zu segnen."

"Das Weiseste ist,
Sie dann zu verlachen,
Nur ein Lump und ein Christ
Wird zu Freunden sie machen." *

Heinzen is also the author of a great number of epigrams, which are remarkable chiefly for their bitter sarcasm, and their merciless derision of his opponents. The philistine is again made the butt of his ridicule:

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* Gedichte, p.119.

"Wo mit Sonnen und Sternen der Dichter sich leuchtet im
Weltall,
Tappt mit dem Talglichtstumpf plump der Philister umher."*

More than once in his life Heinzen has acted on the principle:

"Zu erfreuen seine Freunde
Ist die schönste Freud' im Leben,
Doch zu Ärgern seine Feinde
Ist der groszte Spasz daneben." " .

The inconsistency between the poetry and the life of the poets calls forth his anger repeatedly:

"Derweil im Vers ihr das Gemeine richtet,
Ist es Gemeinheit, was ihr tut and strebet.
Wenn ihr nicht sucht zu leben was ihr dichtet,
So sucht auch nur zu dichten, was ihr lebet." " *

His ideal is the man who will put his theories into practice:

"Halbling ist und leicht zu wandeln
Wer nur Verse machen kann,
Aber der Poet im Handeln
Ist der ideale Mann." #

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* Gedichte, pp. 178 and 214.
# Gedichte, p. 178.

For the failure of his projects he takes bitter revenge by blaming it on the baseness of the Germans:

"Das Höchste, doch auch das Gemeinste,
Wirst Du im teutschen Wesen finden,
Die höchsten Berge stehen immer
Umgeben von den tiefsten Schlünden." *

He also gives his opinion of the problems that face the Germans in America:

"Sich amerikanisiren
Heiszt ganz sich verlieren;
Als Teutscher sich treu geblieben
Heiszt Ehre und Bildung lieben:
Doch lieber indianisch,
Als teutsch-amerikanisch!" *

But it was not through his poetry and epigrams, but mainly through his writings in prose that Heinzen fought for the realization of his ideals, and for these he deserves to be remembered. We have seen in the last chapter that with the appearance of the article on the "Prussian Bureaucracy" he became an outspoken revolutionist. This event also determined the character of his subsequent literary activity. As an agitator of revolutionary measures, and as an

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* Gedichte, p. 183, 198

active champion of the cause in the field of battle, the poetic form was inadequate to express his revolutionary ideas, his utter dissatisfaction with the existing regime, and his program for reforms. Only at intervals he writes poems, his energies are now chiefly devoted to inciting the public mind to revolt. Ceaselessly he was engaged in the publication and dissemination of pamphlets to achieve his end. In all of them he professes his republican principles boldly and fearlessly. Some of them were so extremely radical in content and in language, that even the majority of the more conservative liberals turned from him. Relentlessly and unmercifully he continued to pour out his stinging sarcasms on everybody who dared to oppose him.

The same characteristics can be observed in the various newspapers which he edited in America, especially in the "Pionier". Most of his articles are written in an excellent style. Heinzen had a masterful control of the German language. The sentence structure is unusually good, and he is always clear and to the point. He has a great choice of expressions, and is able to speak with such impressiveness and force, as is seldom found. A few characteristic selections from the "Pionier" will bear out this assertion. In the following excerpt he inveighs against those materially minded persons for whom the accumulation of wealth is not a means to an end, but an end in itself:

"Am Stupidesten, Verächtlichsten, und Unausstehlichsten, sind aber Diejenigen, welche glauben, durch den bloszen Besitz jenes Tauschmittels Alles ersetzen oder verdrängen zu können, was dem

Menschen erst eigentlich Wert verleiht: jene Protzen, welche im Bewusztsein ihres Dollarbesitzes mit Verachtung auf Geist, Bildung, und Karakterwerth herabblicken; jene rohen Philister, welche sich erhaben über Goethe und Humboldt stellen würden, wenn dieselben weniger Geld besäszen, als sie; jene Pfennigsaristokraten, welche welche mit einem Plus von einigen Dollars sich für eine andere Menschenart halten lernen, als ihre Nebenmenschen, die eine Banknote weniger in der Tasche haben; jene Elenden, die dich mit Geringschätzung handeln, oder meiden, wenn sie deinen Beutel leer sehen, und vor Dir kriechen und Dich verfolgen, wenn Du eine volle Börse ziehst; jene Wichte, die vor Stolz platzen, wenn sie 'Geld gemacht' haben, und zu Speichelleckern werden, wenn ihner ein rächender Teufel den Säckel abgeschnitten; jene Moralschwärmer, deren kein Mittel der Bereicherung zu schlecht ist, die aber jede Schlechtigkeit anderen aufbürden, welche den Vorteil des Einen nicht mit dem Nachteil des Anderen wöllen erhaufen lassen; jene fühlenden Seelen, die in Tränen zerfliesZen, wenn sie einen Rechenfehler gemacht haben, aber mit einem Herzen von Stein dem fremden Unglück nichts zu bieten haben 'help yourself'; kurz, jene gemein und niedrig denkenden Menschen, die nur Sinn für den Dollar, nur Respekt vor dem Dollar, nur Wert durch der Dollar, nur Freude an den Dollar haben." *

A typical illustration for his sarcastic outbursts is the following reply to the charge of fanaticism, and at the same time

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* Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, Vol. I, pp. 30 ff.

a contribution to the question of slavery, against which he carried on a rigorous campaign:

"In Amerika heiszen die Gegensatze: Sklaverei und Freiheit. Nenne die Sklaverei einen Segen, erkläre sie für ein Erfördernisz der Republik, mache sie zu einem nationalen Institut, breite sie zu aus mit Feuer und Schwert, schleppe Schiffsladungen von Unglücklich- aus Afrika hieher, erziehe die mit Peitsche und Folter zum Arbeits- vich, verbrenne sie lebendig, wenn sie noch einen Rest von Mensch- lichkeit bewahren, um sich gegen deine Unmenschlichkeit zu empören, reisze die Kinder von der Brust der Mutter, um sie einem Kannibalen zu verhandeln, verkaufe deine eigene Kinder und verschwelge den Er- trag in Gelagen, die Dich zu neuen Verbrechen gegen Menschlichkeit und Natur stimuliren - dann bist Du ein Patriot, ein Freund der Union, eine Stütze der Ordnung, ein Liebling der Regierung, ein Mann des Volks, eine Zierde der Republik. Aber raffe Dich auf in Zorn deiner Menschenehre, in der Empörung deines Rechtsgefühls, verdamme diesen ganzen Zustand als antirepublikanisch, als barbarisch, als infam, und schwöre Denen, die ihn schaffen und unterhalten, Feind- schaft und Verderben, wie sie es verdienen - und wie die moralische Logik, die Nemesis der Entwicklung es ihnen unfehlbar bringen wird - so magst Du Dich als ausgestoszen betrachten aus der Gesellschaft der "honetten Leute", Du bist ein Feind des Vaterlandes, ein ge- fährlicher Mensch, ein "roter Republikaner", ein "Fanatiker." *

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* Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, Vol.I, p.205.

Space will not permit to give a more comprehensive account of Heinzen's literary activity, but in order to give a vivid picture of the variety of subjects which he discussed, and of the enormous extent of his labors, I will add a list of his publications at the end of this work.

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CHAPTER IV.

HEINZEN'S PHILOSOPHICAL AND CRITICAL VIEWS.

In considering Heinzen as a literary critic, we must not suppose that he made a profession of literary criticism. He did not write newspaper reviews for the information and edification of his readers, nor did he occupy a chair of literary criticism in some higher school of learning. Heinzen was anything but a conventional sort of a critic. He does not attempt to secure an objective point of view, but formulates his opinions in an entirely subjective manner, without regard to the conventional standards of judgment. As we have seen above, Heinzen had dedicated his life to the cause of truth, justice, and freedom for all mankind. In his life-long struggle for the realization of these ideals he passed judgment on the political, social, and economic conditions of his countrymen, and later also on those of his newly adopted fatherland, America. Similarly he also subjected the literature of his time to a scathing and severe criticism, accepting or rejecting it, lauding or condemning it, according to whether it was in agreement with, or in opposition to, his cherished ideals. That we should find many one-sided views among criticisms of this kind, which are based entirely on a subjective attitude towards literature, is only to be expected. Nor is it my object to vindicate Heinzen's views in every case. I merely wish to give an account of his criticisms, and to seek to explain

them with regard to his philosophical and critical views. And as these views are really the determining factor in his judgments, and his criticisms merely the application of these general principles to the literary productions of his time, it is necessary that we first form a more definite conception of his philosophical and critical principles.

Heinzen himself designates his attitude toward the universe as that of a materialist. He flatly denies the existence of spirit as independent of the material world, and considers matter to be the fundamental constituent or ultimate fact of the universe. All phenomena of consciousness are reduced to transformations of material molecules. "Matter and spirit, or body and spirit, are only two aspects of one and the same thing. Applied to man, these expressions can no more mean two different beings than in nature. The spirit in man is only a product of the bodily organism, the spirit, therefore, is as much material as the body. It is a material activity like electricity or magnetism, which only eludes our senses." * Similarly Heinzen makes the following distinction between Materialism and Spiritualism. "Matter is that which exists without regard to human thoughts, while the "spiritual" (in the sense of the Spiritualists) exists without regard to matter. Accordingly materialism in that philosophical view, which has as its basis that which exists in itself and through itself; it is the doctrine of that which is, of the real; while the basis of spiritualism is that which men have thought

* Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, I, p.26.

or imagined. Materialism does not therefore reject that which has been thought, but it accepts it only as a product of matter, and considers it only in connection and agreement with the same. In regard to the "spirit" one could make the following distinction: Spiritualism lets the mother come into existence through the child, materialism lets the child come into existence through the mother." *

This materialistic view of Heinzen was by no means new or original. As F. A. Lange points out in his History of Materialism, it is as old as philosophy itself. In ancient times as well as through the Middle Ages and up to modern times, the dualism between matter and spirit was always a fruitful topic for the speculations of the philosophers, and philosophical materialism was held on the one side, as well as philosophical idealism on the other. But towards the middle of the nineteenth century materialism as a philosophical view came to predominate, and almost drove idealism from the field entirely. The whole character of the time was very propitious for materialism. The idealism of the two previous generations, with its exclusive speculations about the other world, had gradually lost its grip, and the problems of this present world again became the basis of all consideration. Not the least factor in this change of attitude was the industrial revolution which was going on in Germany at the this time. Factories were built everywhere, railroads were now connecting the different parts of the country and facilitated the transportation of the products. Cities were springing up around the

* Deutscher Rad., Neue Folge, II, p. 134.

factories, and a large part of the rural population became urban. All of these momentous events emphasized very strongly the importance of this present life, and consequently the speculations turned from ultra-mundane to mundane affairs. The rise of materialism was also intimately bound up with the increased interest in the studies of natural science. The philosophical speculation had not solved the riddle of the universe, and it was evident that the deductive method would not lead to complete knowledge. The inductive method of exact science was expected to reach this goal. The external world was to be observed as closely as possible, a great number of observations and experiments were to be made, and only from facts gained in this way, general laws were to be formed. It was only at this time that the first laboratory of experimental chemistry was established, the laboratory at the University of Giessen, under the supervision of Justus von Liebig. Soon similar laboratories were installed at other universities, and the study of natural science gradually came to occupy the first place. With the aid of the microscope and other instruments, an insight was possible into a new, undreamed of world of life, into the world of the most simple organisms, those consisting of only one cell. From all these observations a theory something like the following was built up: the whole world can be resolved into atoms, the last bearers of any physical action. This action is mechanical, and consists of movements and changes of the atoms and atom groups, and can be ascertained by laws. The body of man, of animals, and of plants, is only to be regarded as a large mechanism, in which the same laws and forces as in nature are present, and it can thus be explained and understood. All of these observations

formed welcome material for the materialistic philosophy. In the works of Ludwig Feuerbach, Jakob Moleschott, and Ludwig Büchner, we find these ideas incorporated and worked over into a system of philosophy. In the works of these men, and from such sources, Heinzen finds information, and corroboration of his beliefs. All of his arguments in favor of materialism are based on the discoveries of science, the goddess of truth. Thus he points out that science has established the fact that matter is eternal, that even in the transformations caused by fire or by decay, not an atom is lost, but that it only enters a new combination, and appears in a different form. * Science has indisputable established that there is no matter without force, and no force without matter. There is no difference between organic and inorganic nature. Heinzen is also an enthusiastic disciple of the apostles of materialistic philosophy, of Feuerbach, Büchner, Vogt, and Moleschott, whose books he has read and studied with great eagerness. He quotes these men as authorities for his contentions. Thus Moleschott is quoted to prove his assertion that there is no difference between organic and inorganic matter. In another place he calls Moleschott "without doubt the most radical and genial of all modern natural scientists: the Feuerbach among the natural scientists, or the physiological complement to Feuerbach." *

These views Heinzen not only held for himself, but he sought to make converts for them in most of his writings, and he

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* Teutscher Rad., Neue Folge, I, p. 29. Ibid. pp. 28-31 for the following references.

looked forward to the time when they would be universally accepted. And what are the advantageous results that he hoped to realize through the dissemination of these principles? the question whether or not the acceptance of materialism would be a gain, Heinzen says, is equal to the question, whether knowledge or ignorance, truth or untruth is a gain. * In the acceptance of materialism lies the destruction of all vagueness and deception regarding our most important affairs, regarding the world and our station in it. *

Since matter is the only thing that exists, and spirit only exists as a product of matter, Heinzen accordingly denies the existence of any kind of a God, and openly professes himself an atheist. All the injustice in the world he considers to be the result of a mistaken notion regarding the origin, the preservation, and the future of the world. By creating an all-powerful God who rules the world, and who issues commands to the inhabitants of the world, the priests have been able to secure power over their fellowmen. By playing upon their imagination with the prospect of a future life, where the obedient shall be rewarded and the disobedient shall be punished, they have been able to keep their fellowmen in subjection. This power has been shared by the rulers and despots, who base their claim on divine commands. And the people in subjection do not dare to rise in revellion and shake off this oppressing yoke, because they are afraid of an avenging deity. They have for the most part not even a desire to free themselves from this oppression, because

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*Teutscher Rad., p. 32.
*Ibid. p. 26.

they are more concerned with their fate in the future world than in the present. If, however, Heinzen argues, these mistaken notions can be destroyed, if men can be made to see that matter is the only thing in existence, that the world has never been created by an outside agency, that it is in a constant state of evolution according to inherent laws, then also the prejudices instilled by the priests will fall away, men will come to realize that they themselves are the masters of their fate, and the golden age of freedom will begin to dawn. Herein we also find an explanation for Heinzen's burning hate against Christianity, and in fact against all religions. "Down with the word religion as well as with the content of religion" he exclairs on one occasion.* In the name of Christianity more crimes and injustice have been commited than under any other excuse, or through any other agency, but through the scientific discoveries and the materialistic philosophy Christianity has found its doom. "Christianity has come to an end, and now begins humanity: humanity without religious phrases, but with irreligious rights."#

Heinzen very often uses the term "radicalism" almost synonymously with "materialism". Radicalism is for him simply the exponent of truth, and since in materialism he believes to have found the absolute truth, the terms cover each other. Radicalism means that attitude of mind which will subject all phenomena to reason and investigation, and then fraw its conclusions without regard to any

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*Teutscher Rad., N. F., II, p.552.
Ibid. p.105.

authority or tradition. "Radicalism will replace the rule of force by the free agreement of individuals who all have equal rights, it will replace faith by a knowledge of the true reality and its laws. Destroying all authority in heavenly as well as in earthly affairs, it reduces the freed man to the purely human sphere, and inquires of him: you, as a free man among free men, which morality will you adopt and what duties will you recognize? The answer will be simple: only a human moraltiy and human duties, a morality which is in accordance with human nature, and duties which are in accordance with human rights." *

But although Heinzen is very much opposed to the idealistic philosophy, he is not therefore also opposed to ideal interests. On the contrary, his whole struggle is directed towards furthering these ideal interests, and only as a barrier to their realization does he denounce the idealistic philosophy. Nothing would be farther removed from truth than the assertion that Heinzen recognizes only material interests, or that he considers the object of life to be merely a material, sensual enjoyment. Heinzen denied the existence and the validity of "spirit" only as independent of matter: he does not, however, maintain that the spiritual does not exist at all, but he does consider it as emanating from matter. "There is no more radical error than the assumption that the ideal or spiritual world will be destroyed if one makes it dependent upon the material world, or if one proves the identity of spirit and matter. All spirit is matter, and

*Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika, Vol. I, pp.7 ff.

all matter is spirit, insofar as we understand by it in general a certain force inherent in matter, which under certain conditions will produce a feeling and a poem, as well as lightning or an electric current: which as a life force, will produce a man, and as a physical force will produce a storm." Life is considered to be an interaction of physical and chemical processes in the organism, but "shall we consider feelings and thoughts as worthless, when produced by this interaction, because we have brought them back from a world of spirits to the sound basis of science? Will the ideal world be destroyed, if we prove it to be the product or rather a part of the material world, while hitherto it has been assumed that it produced, permeated, and ruled the material world from above?" *

Frequently Heinzen uses the following comparison to illustrate his theory: "Nobody believes that the scent of a flower is a spirit, which has passed into or surrounds the flower. Everyone knows that this scent is merely a material action of particles of the flower upon our nerves of smell. But has the flower become worthless to us, because we know this? Do we love and value it less, because we do not commit the foolishness of considering its odor, which we can no more see than our soul, a spirit?"#

Heinzen is thus far removed from belittling the great influence which the ideal products, such as literature, music, and art, exert on the human race, only he considers these the blossom of ma-

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* Teutscher Radikalismus, Neue Folge, I, p.34.

Ibid., I, p.33.

terialism: and he loves the blossom more than the unclean root from which it has grown. Just as the gardener places the bulb in the ground in order to produce beautiful flowers, so Heinzen places the bulb of materialism in men's hearts and minds in order to produce the ideal fruits of justice, freedom, and happiness for all men. He denounces those materialistic minded people, who are entirely devoid of higher interests and ideals, and who use the materialistic philosophy as an excuse for their vulgar desires and pleasures, just as severely as the idealistic philosophers and theologians. Such he considers the Communists. "They clothe this philosophy of degrading man to a mere animal, this doctrine of the trough and mud, this cult of bestiality, with all kinds of 'economic' phrases, and set up the doctrine that only 'interests', not 'ideas', determine and should determine men's action. As if ideas did not represent interests! As if convictions did not demand satisfaction as summarily as bodily needs! Of course not for those who have no ideas and no convictions. Consequently the professors of stupidity, of vulgarity, of bestiality, must sweep out all humane conceptions, all science, all literature, all art, from the realm of human needs, and they let nothing remain except the tiresome industrial science of 'producing' for the sake of 'consuming' - the fist in the service of the stomach, the brainless beast!" *

Even Heinzen's conception of revolution was not merely

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* Deutscher Rad. N.F., I, p.38.

forcible tearing down of existing institutions, not only a battle with cannons and guillotines, but a higher and nobler conception. He did not hesitate to advocate a revolution with fire and sword, but only when he considered it as the last possible means of securing the rights that were denied. As the world according to science was in a constant state of evolution, revolution was one of the instruments to accomplish this, but a revolution in the higher sense of progress, a revolution of the human spirit against everything that is antiquated, outworn, and unreasonable. "Revolution is life, in man as in nature, it is the future, it is the hope, it is the salvation, it is the poetry of the world, it is the striving of the spirit for the ideal of evolution, it is everything." *

That materialism does not mean the renunciation of what we usually term the higher interests in this life, is sufficiently borne out by Heinzen's life. The gratification of his own personal desires, was never considered when his ideals were at stake. His life was devoted to producing greater freedom for his fellowmen, and for this he fought no matter what the results would be. His personal welfare, was always placed after the ideals for which he was struggling. And for this reason he had to suffer exile, poverty, hardships, and denunciation, but he never wavered in the pursuit of his cherished ideals. He was at the same time a patron of good art, of literature, and of music, and sought to create a greater interest in them, and better understanding of them.

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* Teutscher Rad., II, p.81.

If we now pass on to consider Heinzen's critical principles we will realize that his philosophical principles are an important factor in determining his judgment. As the materialistic point of view is the only justifiable one, and as the salvation of the world can only be accomplished by its agency, all the poets who favor the idealistic philosophy will naturally be condemned as obstructing the way to truth and to freedom. Similarly the Christian poets, the "standpatters", the conservatives, will share the same fate. In fact only the propagandist has a right to literary activity, he whose ideals and convictions are opposed to the present state of affairs, only the champions of radicalism, of truth, of revolution, should be permitted to write. The mere production of literature for the sake of financial returns should cease entirely. "Nobody has a greater calling to write than he whose convictions reject that which is at present established, and who therefore feels the need to help in putting something better in its place. Only he should write, who must write. Those who make writing merely a business, have neither to give vent to the enthusiasm for the good, nor to the dissatisfaction against the evil; it does not require any self-sacrifice on their part to remain silent. We would soon be freed from all of our useless writers, if we could assure every one of them a few hundred dollars more per year than he receives at present. Lord God Almighty, you who care for these scoundrels so paternally, let money rain into the pockets of all these good-for-nothings, so that no other voice will be heard than that of radicalism, of conviction, of truth!" *

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* Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p. 169.

We must keep in mind that when Heinzen speaks of truth and conviction, he means that attitude of mind which he himself represents. He believes to have found the absolute truth, consequently there can be no other truth opposed to his ideas. Even sincere convictions in the other direction are not recognized by Heinzen. Those people he either considers as cowards, hypocrites, or otherwise stupid.

"All of these great statesmen, ministers, diplomats, professors, campaign-orators, and literary men, who have not comprehended and represented the rights of all men, are in my eyes, in spite of their distinctions and their triumphs, stupid, absolutely stupid, more stupid than the most stupid schoolboy." *

Into this class Heinzen puts all those who were not in sympathy with the revolutionary ideals of 1848. Those who were still in favor of monarchy, even a constitutional monarchy, have thereby shown their true colors and deserve no further notice. The revolution was a kind of touchstone with which the worth of the poets was tested. "All those who did possess a noble nature and were motivated by higher ideals, had to step forth during the revolution and show their colors. Whoever did not do this, was either servile (reactionary), or what is the same thing, stupid. Of this caliber are all those who after the suppression of the revolution could be reinstated in their former positions." #

This naturally includes all those who were not forced to

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* Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p. 200.

\# Ibid., I, pp. 69 ff.

flee the country like Heinzen and Freiligrath, those who adapted themselves to conditions and sought to secure freedom and emancipation through a gradual transformation instead of a violent and bloody revolution. Heinzen is a bitter enemy of all compromises, and draws the ultimate conclusions in every case. Naturally he expects others to do the same, and denounces those that do not go into such extremes.

This raises the question whether Heinzen's emigration to America was not an important factor in influencing and determining his judgment of the contemporary German literature. I have indicated in the first chapter that a remarkable change came over the literature after the revolution. The very men who had summarily demanded freedom, and had advocated violent methods as a means of securing it, had gradually come to change their tone. The revolutionary poetry almost ceased entirely. Some of these poets becase disheartened, others realized the impossibility of securing freedom and emancipation by a revolution, and now devoted their efforts to bringing this change about by lawful methods and by gradual changes. It is very likely that had Heinzen remained in Germany instead of coming to America he would also have been influenced by the general change of feeling, and would have modified his extreme position. But as it was, Heinzen did not depart one jot or tittle from his pre-revolutionary attitude. He continued to make the same demands which he made before the revolution. Living here in America, far removed from the scene of conflict, he could not understand the reasons for the change of attitude in Germany. He regarded all of those who did modify their position, either as hypocrites, or as cowards. This lack of consist-

ency, this lack of manliness, aroused his ire, and caused his wholesale condemnation of the post-revolutionary poets.

A fundamental question in Heinzen's criticisms, therefore, is the question of the author's character and his principles, as a criterion of judgment. This question has found different answers by various men. Heine, for instance, maintains that genius and character are to be entirely separated, and that the antithesis between talent and character has been invented by the envy and impotence of inferior men as a weapon against the powerful genius. Friedrich Kummer in his History of Nineteenth Century Literature, takes an intermediate position, and wants both sides of the question to be considered. Heinzen, however, lays the emphasis in the first place upon character, and upon the principles of right, justice, and truth. And he feels justified in his position not only from a moral, but also from an aesthetic point of view. That which is bad, i.e., that which is bad in his opinion, cannot be considered beautiful, and the vulgar cannot be poetic. Even if the most gifted poet would treat of a subject which must be denounced in principle, if for example, he would make a prince or despot the hero of his work, then it does not deserve the name of poetry. Similarly a poet must be a man above all things, i. e., he must be radical, consistent, democratic, etc. If he does not fulfill this requirement he has thereby lost all claim to consideration as a poet. *

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* Teutscher Rad., N. F., I, p.59.

CHAPTER V.

KARL HEINZEN AS LITERARY CRITIC.

Heinzen manifested an interest in literature very early in his life, and during his attendance at the University of Bonn, he neglected the study of medicine, for which he was registered, and devoted most of his time to literary studies. By reading the works of the great classicists, Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing, he acquired good taste and judgment. That he had grasped the essential distinction between genuine and counterfeit poetry, I have endeavored to show in the third chapter by quotations from his early poetry. He improved his taste and widened his acquaintance with German literature in the subsequent years of his life by private reading. Even after his emigration to America he endeavored to remain in close touch with the intellectual life of Germany, and he succeeded in procuring all the latest publications, which he read and studied.

Heinzen considers literature one of the ideal treasures of the human race, of infinitely greater value than mere material possessions. He places it above all the other arts, above music, sculpture, and painting. He regards good literature as the most influential factor in shaping a man's character, in formulating his ideals, and in urging him to realize these ideals in practice. And what is true of literature in general, he believes to be especially true of German literature. The greatest treasure which the Germans possess

is their literature, the only thing, at the same time of which a member of the so-called German nation can be proud. *

He wishes to have the American children instructed in the German language and literature. "A new world would thereby be opened to them, and the coming generation would be essentially different from the present one. What men like Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Jean Paul, and so many German poets have to offer, you will find in no other literature, least of all in American literature. And as far as religion is concerned, the mother of all other enlightenment, no literature has done so much and so thorough work for it as the German." #

Here we see at once the reason for Heinzen's enthusiasm for German literature. It is not so much the perfect form of poetry, not so much the aesthetic qualities, which he admires, but rather the high ideals which are set forth in it. As champions of truth and freedom, of right and justice, as the apostles of a new and freer humanity, he values and admires these poets. He is less concerned with the artistic theories than with the contents. Classicism and romanticism, realism and naturalism, do not matter as much as the moral principles that permeate the artistic production.

However, in applying this criterion to German literature, Heinzen finds himself obliged to limit his approval to a comparatively small circle of writers. Not in the poetry of his contemporaries, but in that of Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, and similar

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* T. R., N. F., I, 76 ff.
# Ibid., II, 741.

writers, he sees the salvation of his people. Goethe especially is the object of Heinzen's veneration, and this in spite of the fact that Goethe was not a political revolutionist. Goethe remained passive towards all movements for national unity, and for political freedom. Even the Wars of Liberation, which had incited the whole nation to the highest pitch, left him entirely cold. This was primarily the reason why Wolfgang Menzel had been such a decided opponent of Goethe. And as also the July Revolution of 1830 did not move Goethe in the least, we should expect that Heinzen would have some severe words of censure for Goethe. But this is not the case. Heinzen realizes that Goethe stood for more than revolution by mere force of arms. Goethe said to a friend when the news of the July Revolution arrived in Germany: "The true revolution is that of the human spirit", and this Heinzen considers to be the greatest revolutionary truth. * Another instance of Heinzen's ideal conception of revolution is afforded by this.

Goethe, however, is not entirely above reproach. His residence at the Court of Weimar, and his position as "Geheimrat", are not to be commended. And when in 1863 Heinzen had read the newly published correspondence between Goethe and the Duke Karl August, he is disappointed, because "it makes a very disagreeable impression by the servile phrases, with which Goethe seeks to depict the exceedingly good fortune which consists of being humbled by the patronage

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* T. R., N. F., I, p.153.

of princely idols." *

One of the few men of the later period, for whom Heinzen expresses great admiration, is Ludwig Börne. He considers a monument erected in honor of Börne as one of the most appropriate of all the monuments, and a just recognition of a great mind and character, which should have many followers.# Here again the reasons for Heinzen's admiration are apparent. Börne's ideals and aspirations were very similar to those of Heinzen, and he fought for them as courageously and persistently as did Heinzen. In a masterful style he carried on a campaign for freedom as journalist, critic, political propagandist, and satirist. At a time when interest was centered mainly on purely aesthetic questions, Börne regarded everything from the point of view of character and political attitude. And this was exactly Heinzen's standpoint a few decades later. In addition to this, his consistency, his absolute sense of justice, his striving for truth, his relentlessness, were factors calculated to appeal very strongly to Heinzen.

To what an extent Heinzen's philosophical and political views influenced his criticisms, becomes evident from his judgment of Ludwig Uhland. Uhland certainly was striving to procure freedom and representative government for his people. As a member of the Frankfort Parliament, he took his seat at the extreme left of the left centre. Here he opposed the hereditary Prussian emperorship,

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* T. R., N. F., II, pp. 177 ff.
# Ibid., II, p. 381.

and voted for an elective head of the empire to be chosen every six years. On this occasion he had uttered the memorable words: "Believe me, gentlemen, no head will shine over Germany which has not been anointed with a full drop of democratic oil." But when at his death in 1862, he was celebrated as the greatest German poet, Heinzen protests. He gives him credit for his high talents, and regards him as an honourable man, "but as poet and politician he belongs more to the past than to the present, because he was a narrow romanticist in both directions. Even up to his last moments the main subject of his erring thoughts was the poetry of the Middle Ages, and if Goethe died with the words 'more light', then Uhland might have taken leave with the words, 'more darkness'." * Heinzen with his materialistic point of view regards the Middle Ages as the Dark Ages, the age of superstition and of feudal regime. What he desires is radicalism not only in politics, in science, and in philosophy, but also in poetry, and this is not to be found in the Middle Ages.

Heinzen's antipathy to Heinrich Heine at first seems somewhat contradictory. We would suppose that because of his cosmopolitic ideals and because of his derision of the Prussian Government, Heinzen would be in sympathy with him. But Heinzen looks below the surface. He does not maintain that Heine is ungifted, but he feels the lack of an important element in his personality, that of character. "Nobody would think of denying that Heine has a good mind, wit, and

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* T. R., N. F., II, p. 127.

a poetic vein, but he is a diamond mounted in mud, and as a character wholly despicable." * Here we see clearly what an important factor the author's character is in Heinzen's criticisms. Heine's inconsistency, his frequent change of principles, calls forth bitter denunciation, especially when Heinzen hears that Heine has renounced his unbelief and glorifies the Catholic Church. He believes that this is merely a clever ruse in order to secure the favor of the Jesuits, who were then in power. "It is to be expected from this character, that he would seek to procure safety by renouncing principles which he had formerly confessed as his. Principles are for him as cheap as blackberries, and frivolity he would like to give out as superiority. In the mouth of a man, who has slandered all men of character, who were devoted to freedom, and with whom he has come in contact, who has persecuted Platen during his lifetime, Börne in the grave, and Victor Hugo in exile, in the meanest fashion, who recognizes a "God" in the old despot Napoleon, and his "legitimate lord" in the new one, who was formerly an enthusiast for the Prussian Dynasty, and now dedicates his work to the degenerated Prince Pückler, at one time the paid agent of Guizot and correspondent of the 'Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung' when it was in its lowest stages, in the mouth of such a frivolous and suspicious character the renunciation of his confession of faith has as much value as the confession itself." #

Heine's glorification of Catholicism is not only to be

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* T. R., N. F. I, p. 98.

Ibid., I, 98.

condemned from a moral and philosophical, but also from an aesthetic and poetic point of view. A man who writes poetry about the Madonna and sings of the "joy of renunciation" cannot lay claim to the title of poet. *

As a critic, however, Heinzen is chiefly concerned with the literary productions after 1850. I have indicated in the first chapter that a complete change came over the literature of Germany after the revolution. The political lyric, which had engrossed the attention of the people in the previous decade, now ceased to interest them and gradually disappeared entirely. Instead they sought consolation for their down-trodden hopes in a very superficial, sentimental, and semi-romantic world of fiction. Richard M. Meyer in his History of Nineteenth Century Literature refers to "the great flood of poetry of exhaustion and relaxation" which came over Germany after the revolution. Everything that bore evidence of the great crisis through which Germany had just passed, all elements that would appeal to the nation at large, were to be strictly excluded from the poetry, all exertion and excitement was purposely avoided. And this was characteristic of the younger generation, which usually puts forth a titanic effort to produce new and mighty works of art. And therefore many of these poets were not unjustly referred to as "fanatics of tranquillity". #

Moreover, the center of this new and superficial poetry was at the courts of princes and kings, who had bent all their efforts

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* T. R., N. F. I, p. 100.

R. M. Meyer, History of Nineteenth Century Literature, p. 319.

on the suppression of liberal and radical literary productions. They now surrounded themselves with a circle of these harmless writers, who were paid merely to amuse and entertain them. The most popular subjects were an exotic kind of affected love-stories, world-removed, or touching, in an atmosphere of "Weltschmerz" and resignation.

We can readily see that this state of affairs in German literature must have irritated and enraged Heinzen immensely. Even after his emigration to America he remained true to his pre-revolutionary ideals. He had not departed in the slightest degree from his previous demands, and was as enthusiastic in his support of a revolution in Germany as before his exile. The change of feeling in Germany he regarded as lack of manliness, as a sign of degeneration, as utterly contemptible. This becomes even more evident, if we remember the great emphasis which Heinzen lays on literature as an important factor in the national life. If his ideals for Germany are to be realized, then the path must be first cleared by a radical literature. The absence of this makes his endeavors almost hopeless, and therefore he maintains that a radical literary criticism is just as necessary in Germany as political-revolutionary agitation. *

It is from this point of view that we must seek to understand Heinzen's criticisms. If we remember how much Heinzen considered to be at stake, and furthermore, that he stood almost alone in his fight against this artificial, effeminate, and degenerate poetry, we will perhaps pardon him the severe language which he applies against

* T.R., N. F., II, p. 302.

these writers. A few selections will suffice to illustrate Heinzen's disgust for the kind of poetry that was then most popular. Thus he speaks of the insignificance of the courtly poets:

"Es gibt nichts Widerlicheres, als die eitlen und hohlen Groszmännereien, Beräucherungen, Kameradereien, Hofmachereien, Bulletins, Komödien, etc., womit die hofräthlichen Literaten, welche jetzt das Gebiet der teutschen Literatur beherrschen, ihr Genügen an der Eunuchenzeit bekunden, deren Lieblinge sie sind und die nichts so bedarf wie kräftiger Aufruhrgeister, welche diesz ganze Geschmeisz in die Ecke fegen könnten. In den teutschen Blättern, namentlich den literarischen, die elendesten Kleinigkeiten unserer literarischen Hofräte mit einer Wichtigkeit, einer Geheimtuerei, und einem Ton besprochen werden, welche genau an die Gerüchte über die wichtigen Ereignisse an den Hofen erinnern. ---------- - Mann möchte diesz ganze blassierte, servile, und nichtige Literatengesindel Teutschlands, in dem nicht ein Fünkchen wärmlicher Kraft und Würde mehr auflodert, unter dem Fusz verwischen wie einen Insektenhaufen." *

And again the wholesale manufacture of mediocre, harmless, sentimental poetry under the gracious protection of the powers that be, calls forth his anger:

"Es gibt nichts Widerlicheres, als die Art, wie jetzt sich wieder die servilen Amphibien in dem Sumpf der teutschen Literatur breit machen, das ist eine Behäbigkeit des Jammers, eine Süffisance

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* T.R., N.F., II, pp. 243 ff.

der Mittelmäszigkeit, eine Superfötation der Impotenz, kurz ein unnatürliches Gewimmel und Wichtigtun und Produzieren eines Geschlechts welches sich durch seine Unschuld vor der Gewalt und durch die Gewalt vor dem Besen der Revolution gesichert glaubt--dasz man nur mit dem Risiko des Uebelwerdens einen Blick in diese Misere hineinwerfen kann." The poets who enjoy the greatest favors are the same who had already poisoned the public mind before 1848, Gutzkow, Hebbel, Laube, Dingelstedt, Mügge, König, Beck, Schücking, Prutz, Geibel, etc. These "veterans of abomination" have only received reinforcement in courtly critics, such as Julian Schmidt, and in courtly poets, such as Paul who do not, however, distinguish themselves from the others. Heinzen believes that the political conditions of Germany, the rule of the despots, is responsible for this sad state of the literature, because the literature of the free spirit, the radical poetry, is suppressed by the police. A complete change would be brought about by a revolution, for in 1848 these court and tea-table poets, had lost all prestige. Only when the reaction set in again, they dared to venture forth out of their obscurity. "

As model poets Heinzen considers Ferdinand Freiligrath and Richard Wagner. Freiligrath was a personal friend of Heinzen, who had gone to the same extremes in his political agitation as Heinzen. Personal considerations could not influence him, and therefore he had refused to accept a pension from the Prussian Government. Since

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*Ibid., I, p. 61.

then he had spent his life in exile, and had not wavered in his policies even after the revolution. Richard Wagner was another man to fulfill Heinzen's ideal as a poet. He was radical both in his philosophical and political views. He was an ardent supporter of the doctrine of materialism, and he had also actively participated in the revolt, and was forced to flee after its suppression. *

Regarding the general characteristics of the poetry of the time, Heinzen's criticisms have not missed the mark very much. The poetry of men like Friedrich Gerstäcker, Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer, Theodor Mügge, Otto Müller, Otto Roquette, and M. G. Saphir, has since passed into oblivion. But along with these men Heinzen has also condemned a number of writers whose names have remained more or less illustrious, and these we will have to consider separately in order to understand Heinzen's attitude toward them.

Thus Hebbel is condemned because he is not in sympathy with the revolution, and because he writes poetry supporting the Austrian Emperor. Heinzen does not recognize Adolph Strodtmann's protest, who maintains that Hebbel deserves a laurel wreath and a citizen's crown, rather than the stigma of "abominable". Heinzen again does not deny that Hebbel has great gifts and talents, but he refuses to acknowledge his good sense and judgment. To support his contention he quotes the following poem to the Austrian Emperor:

"War auch der Mörder, welcher tief verblendet,
Den meuchlerischen Stahl auf dich gezückt,

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* Ibid., I, p.61.

Ein Bote, den die Hölle selbst gesendet,
Nachdem sie ihn im Innersten berückt,
So hat es doch der Himmel so gewendet,
Dasz jetzt ihn die Apostelkrone schmückt,
Denn Kunde hat der Herr durch ihn gegeben:
Gefeit ist, weil geweiht, des Kaisers Leben."

Heinzen's point of view is narrow and one-sided, but it is at least consistent with his political views. The autocratic rulers and despots he considers to be enemies of mankind, who are to be annihilated with fire and sword if necessary. Therefore a poet who can still sing their praises has lost all claim to consideration, no matter how highly he is gifted. "A poet who could write poetry in honor of the Emperor of Austria in 1853, has according to my opinion renounced the title of poet, and become a despicable lackey. A poet must above all things be a man, and lackeys cannot be counted among them. Hebbel has not only become a lackey, but also a traitor." *

Similarly Emanuel Geibel is severely censured for the following poem:

"O wann kommst du, Tag der Freude,
Den mein ahnend Herz mir zeigt,
Da des jungen Reichs Gebäude -
Himmelan vollendet steigt,
Da ein Geist der Eintracht drinnen

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* Ibid., I, pp. 68 ff.

Wie am Pfingstfest niederzückt,
Und des Kaisers Hand die Zinnen
Mit dem Kranz der Freiheit schmückt."

Heinzen considers this to be absolutely stupid, for "an emperor adorning the pinnacles with the wreath of freedom" is an impossibility. Therefore it is an empty phrase, mere flattery, and for this nonsense Geibel also is termed a "brainless lackey." *

Fanny Sewald among others is criticized because the hero of one of her novels is a "stupid and degenerate Prussian prince", and because the glorification of such a character cannot be considered as poetic. #

Because of their "apostasy" and their servility towards the rulers Karl Gutzkow, Heinrich Laube, Franz Dingelstedt, Robert Prutz and others are also denounced. Needless to say, these characters were not so black as Heinzen painted them. They continued their demands for liberal reforms and for national unity after 1848, but wanted to secure freedom in a lawful way. Heinzen, however, considers them cowards and apostates, as inconsistent and despicable creatures. And this mainly for the reason, that they were favorites at the courts, and received pensions and other distinctions from the rulers.

The lack of manliness, the sentimental resignation, which Heinzen tried to combat in the political life of Germany, is also denounced when it appears in the garb of poetry. A good example of

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* Ibid., II, 142 ff.
# Ibid., II, 214.

this is Paul Heyse's novel, "Das Bild der Mutter", in which the hero is not the lover, but his friend who voluntarily gives up his sweetheart to him. And the girl, by order of her parents, also resigns herself to her fate and marries the other one. Heinzen maintains that common sense as well as "poetic" justice demands that when two persons love each other, they shall also possess one another. Heinzen draws his conclusion by analogy of the political conditions: A person who can give up a loved one voluntarily, will certainly have patience and resignation enough to give up the other human rights, and political freedom. *

It is evident that Heinzen lays the greatest emphasis upon the author's character, his principles in general, and his political views in particular as a criterion of judgment. He does not maintain that the aesthetic qualities of literature are not to be considered, but he believes that mere artistic form without a content of high principles and noble ideals is worthless. Heinzen's standpoint is, of course, one-sided, but his importance lies in the fact that at a time when the purely aesthetic considerations engrossed the attention of the poets, he called attention to the great mission which literature is to perform, by being a leader for progress in thought and in the life of the people.

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* Ibid., I, p. 24.

HEINZEN'S PUBLICATIONS.

A. Published in Europe.

1. Gedichte, 8vo. 248 pages, Cologne, 1841.
2. Dr. Nebel, oder Gelehrsarkeit und Leben, Comedy in Five Acts, 8vo, Cologne, 1841.
3. Die Ehre. 8vo. 24 pages, Cologne, 1842.
4. Reise eines teutscher Romantikers nach Batavia. 12mo. 216 pages. Cologne, 1843.
   Second edition, 8vo, Mannheim, 1845.
   Third edition in "Erlebtes", Vol. I.
5. Die Kölnische Komödie, von Tante Allbieri zum Kölnischen Karnival, Cologne, 1842.
6. Die geheime Konduitenliste, 8vo, Cologne, 1842.
7. Die preuszische Bureaukratie, 8vo, Darmstadt, 1844.
8. Ein Steckbrief. 8vo, Brussels, 1845.
9. Preuszisches und Teutsches. 8vo, Constance, 1845.
10. Mehr als zwanzig Bogen. 8vo, Darmstadt, 1845.
11. Blätter zum Lorbeerkranz eines Verschollenen. Zurich, 1846.
12. Weniger als zwanzig Bogen. 8vo. Münster, (fictitious), 1846.
13. Politische und unpolitische Fahrten und Abenteuer, 2 Vol 12mo. Mannheim, 1846.

Vol. I. Aeltere Fahrten.

Vol. II. Neuere Fahrten und politische Romantik.

14. Dreiszig Kriegsartikel der neuen Zeit für Offiziere und Gemeine. 8vo. 36 pages. Neustadt, 1846.

15. Eine Mahnung an die teutschen Liberalen. Herisau, 1846.

16. Macht Euch bereit. Ein Wort an das teutsche Volk. Herisau, 1846.

17. Der Schleswig-Holstein'sche Nationallärm. 8vo. 28 pages. Bern, 1846.

18. Krakau. Den Schweizern gewidmet. Zurich, 1847.

19. Das Patent. Berlin, 1847.

20. Meine Ausweisung aus Zürich. 8vo. 44 pages. Bern, 1847.

21. Teutsche Revolution. Gesammelte Flugschriften. 8vo. 352 pages. Bern, 1847.

Contains besides the articles mentioned under numbers 8, 9, and 14-20, the following articles, which appeared in the periodicals edited by him:

1. Öffentliche Dankadresse teutscher Preuszen an die Herren von Itzstein und Hecker.
2. Künftige Kabinets orders Olini's des Groszen.
3. Die Schleusen auf!
4. Die Kölner Hetzjagd.
5. Ein teutsches Rechenexempel.
6. Kommunistisches.
7. Was und wer ist liberal.
8. Der gesetzliche Weg in ungesetzliche Staaten.

9. Politische Wallfischtonnen.

10. Teutsche Dummheiten.

22. Erst reine Luft, dann reinen Boden. 12mo. 46 pages. Bern, 1848.

23. Ueber Musik und Kunst. 8vo. 16 pages. Leipzig, 1848.

24. Frankreichs brüderlicher Bund mit Teutschland. 16mo. Basel, 1848.

25. Die Helden des teutscher Kommunismus. Dem Herrn Karl Marx gewidmet. 12mo. 104 pages. "ern, 1848.

26. An die Männer des gesunden Menschenverstandes in Teutschland. Basel, 1848.

27. Ein teutsches Rechenexempel. (2nd ed.) Bern, 1849.

28. Was ist zu tun? Karlsruhe, 1849.

29. Einige Blicke in die badisch-pfälzische Revolution 12mo. 52 pages. Bern, 1849.

30. Mord und Freiheit. London, 1850.

31. Die groszen Männer der Paulskirche. London, 1850.

32. Die Lehren der Revolution. London 1850.

33. Struffiana. London, 1850.

B. 34. Die Opposition. Mannheim, 1846.

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